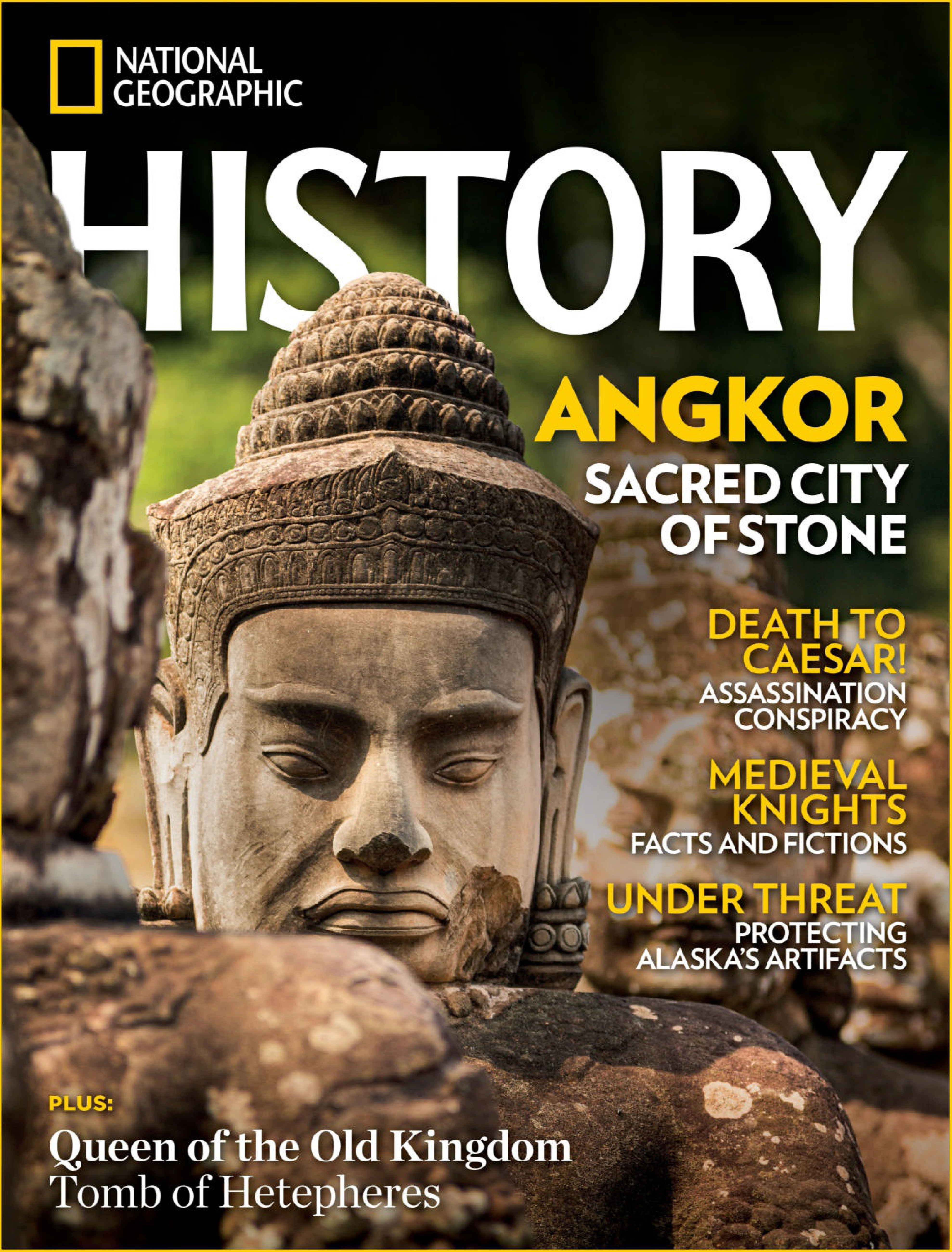
NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

HISTORY



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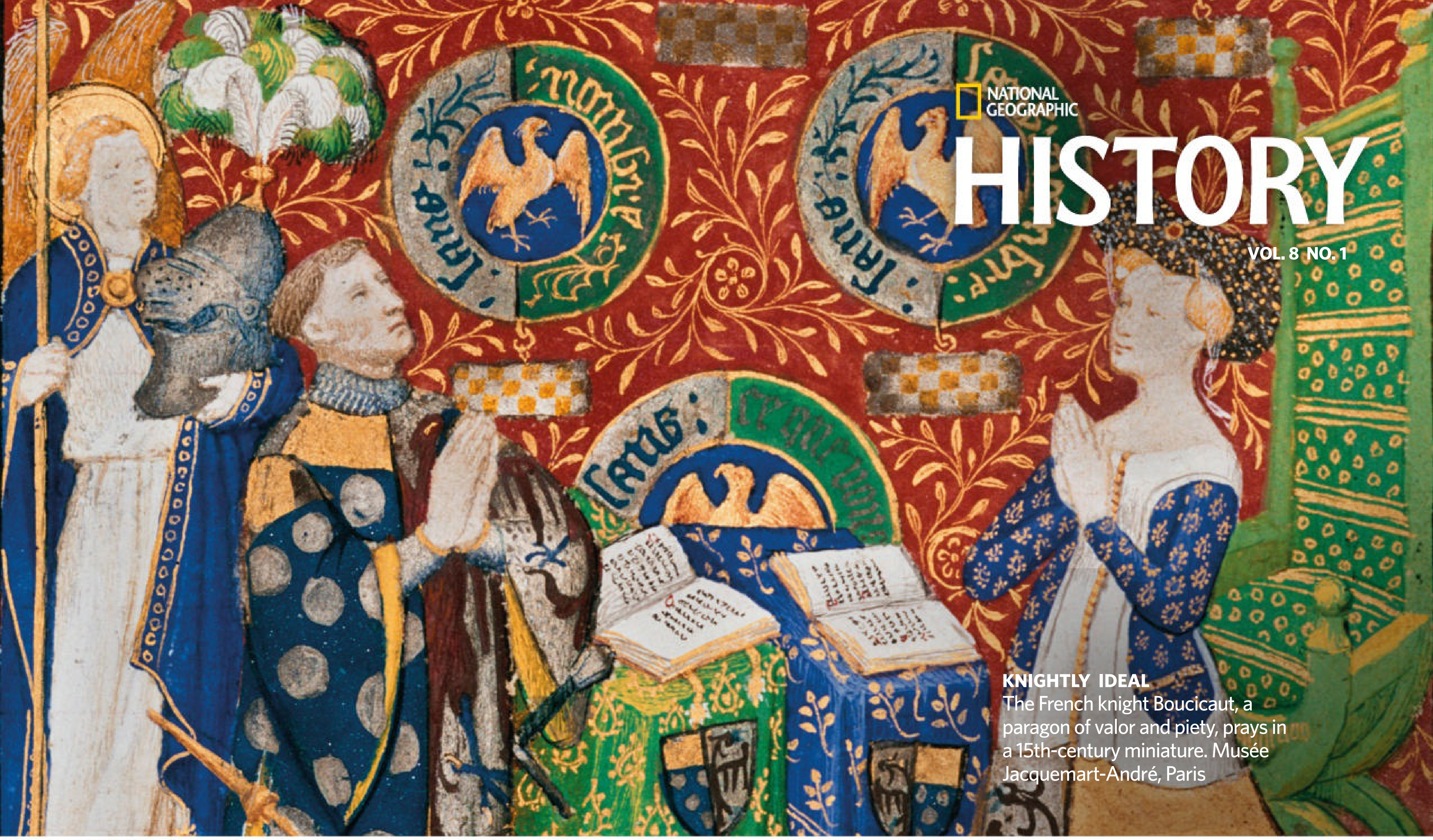

KNIGHTLY IDEAL
The French knight Boucicaut, a paragon of valor and piety, prays in a 15th-century miniature. Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris

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Amid the lush forests and waterways of Cambodia, the temples of Angkor form the world's largest religious complex—built as the Khmer Empire began its religious shift from Hinduism to Buddhism.

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With raw talent that could not be ignored, Sofonisba Anguissola attracted the attention of Renaissance greats, including Michelangelo. Her skilled portraiture launched her career as a Renaissance court painter for the king of Spain.

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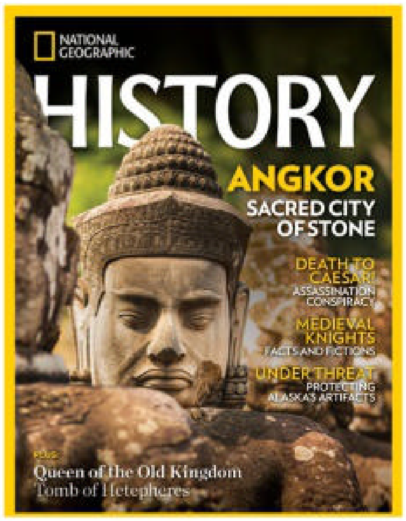
"IDES OF MARCH," COIN COMMEMORATING CAESAR'S ASSASSINATION, CA 43-42 B.C.



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National Geographic History (ISSN 2380-3878) is published bimonthly in January/February, March/April, May/June, July/August, September/October, and November/December by National Geographic Partners, LLC, 1145 17th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Volume 8, Number 1. $34 per year for U.S. delivery. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, DC, and additional mailing offices. SUBSCRIBER: If the Postal Service alerts us that your magazine is undeliverable, we have no further obligation unless we receive a corrected address within two years. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *National Geographic History*, P.O. Box 37545, Boone, IA, 50037. In Canada, agreement number 1000010298, return undeliverable Canadian addresses to *National Geographic History*, P.O Box 819 STN Main, Markham, ON L3P 9Z9.

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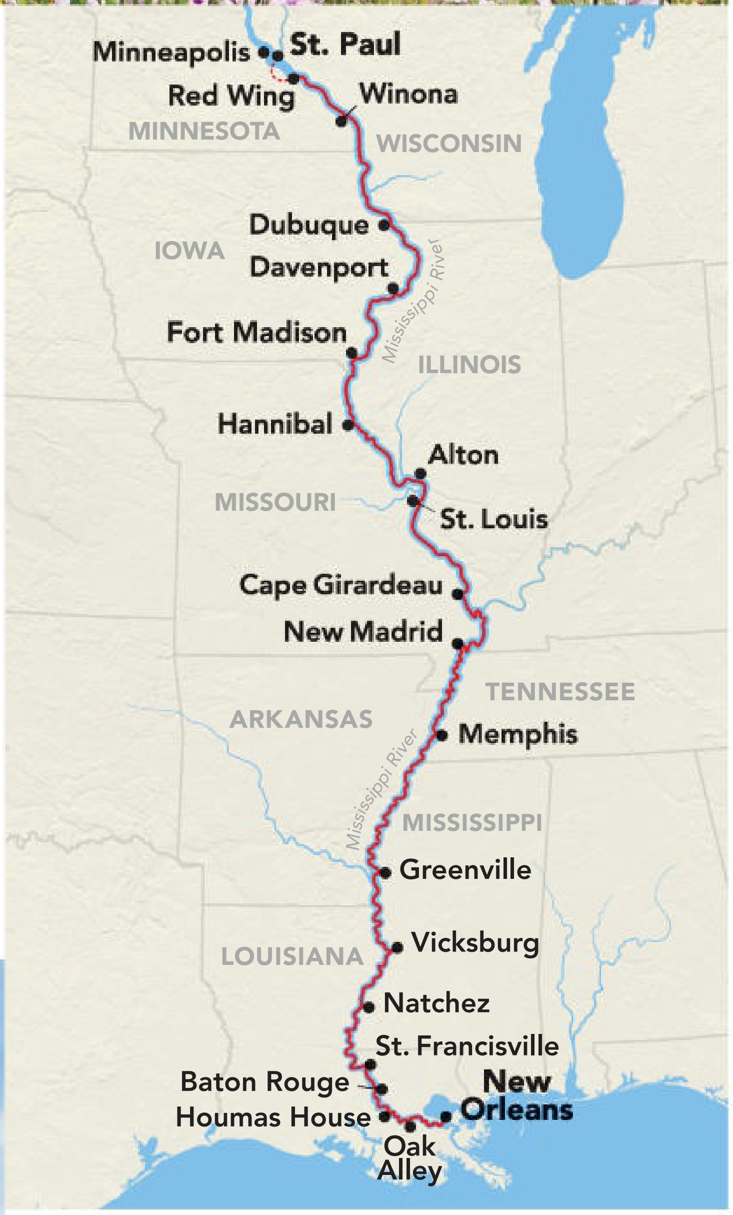
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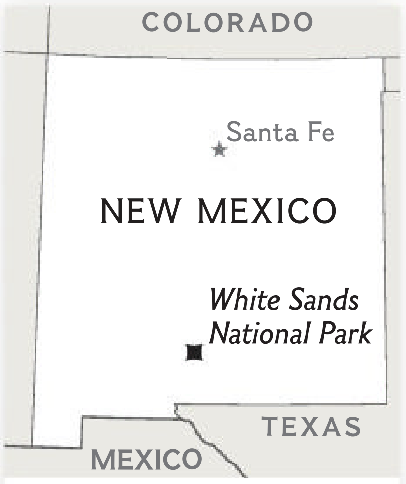
MANY SETS OF HUMAN FOOTPRINTS HAVE BEEN FOUND AT WHITE SANDS NATIONAL PARK, NEW MEXICO. ONE GROUP MAY BE 21,000 TO 23,000 YEARS OLD—PUSHING BACK THE DATE FOR HUMAN HABITATION IN THE AMERICAS.

PHOTO: DAN ODESS



NG MAPS

WHITE SANDS National Park, in southern New Mexico, is the world's largest gypsum dune field, formed when ancient Lake Otero evaporated. It includes 80,000 acres layered with thousands of human and animal footprints.

PALEOLITHIC MIGRATION

Were Humans in North America Before the Ice Age?

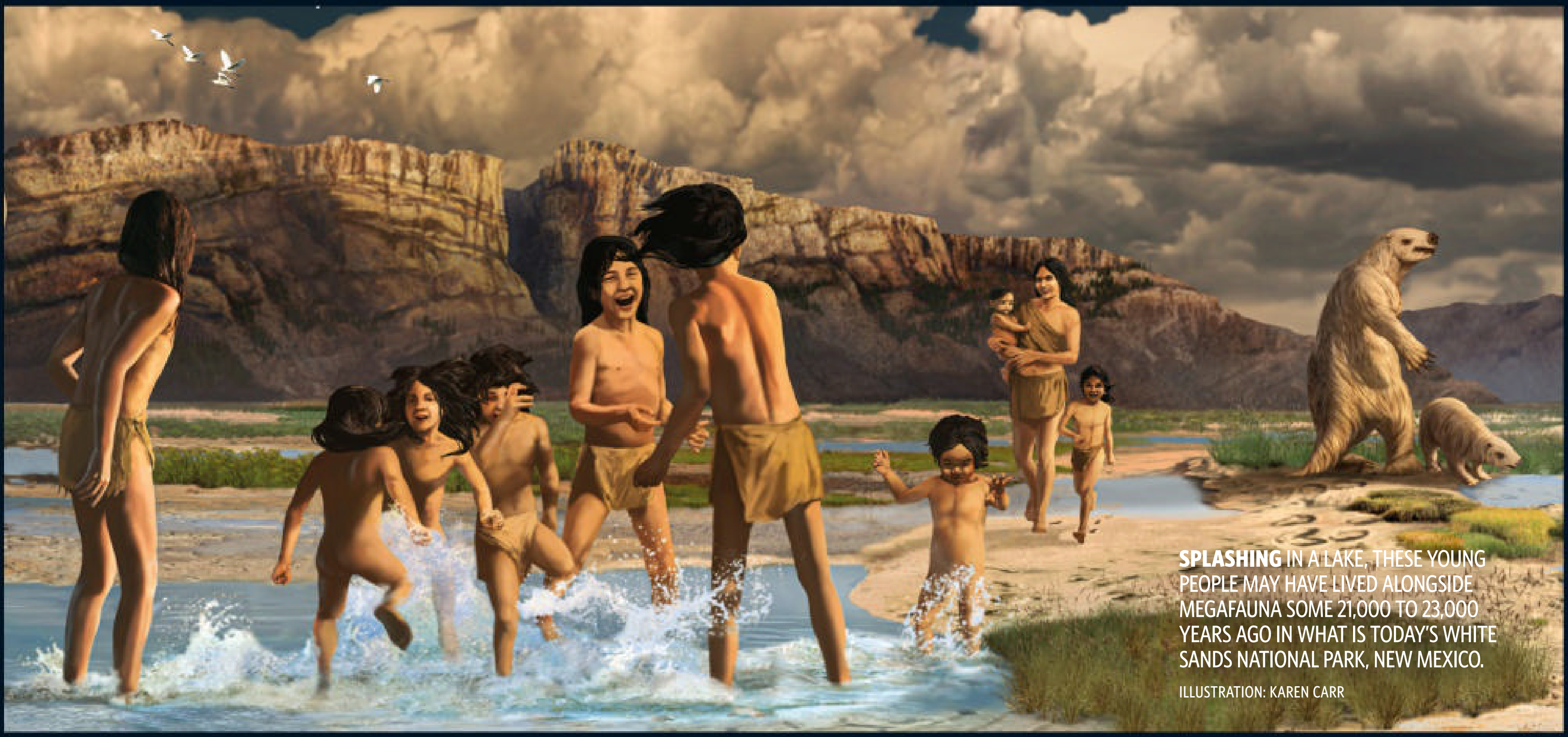
New analysis of fossilized footprints in New Mexico's White Sands National Park challenges theories about the peopling of the Americas.

Between 21,000 and 23,000 years ago, a group of people walked along a lakeshore in what is now White Sands National Park, New Mexico. The body of water dried up about 10,000 years ago, but their footprints remained. A recent study of the footprints has revealed something astounding: They could be the oldest evidence of human settlement in North America.

Seeds of Proof

Analysis of the footprints reveals that many belonged to teenagers and young children. Researchers led by geoscientist Matthew Bennett of Bournemouth University, England, who published their study in the journal *Science,* believe the discovery could recalibrate when humans first began living in North America, one of the biggest questions in paleo-anthropology.

The researchers identified 61 sets of human tracks formed in soft mud and preserved in seven layers. Seeds of an



SPLASHING IN A LAKE, THESE YOUNG PEOPLE MAY HAVE LIVED ALONGSIDE MEGAFAUNA SOME 21,000 TO 23,000 YEARS AGO IN WHAT IS TODAY'S WHITE SANDS NATIONAL PARK, NEW MEXICO.

ILLUSTRATION: KAREN CARR

LAND OF THE LOST

IF FURTHER STUDIES help confirm the White Sands footprints were made by people at the peak of the last ice age 21,000 to 23,000 years ago, it would mean that they lived alongside megafauna: mammoths, giant sloths (pictured above right), dire wolves, and saber-toothed cats. One set of footprints suggests the site may have been a hunting ground with human tracks seeming to stalk those of a giant sloth. Sally Reynolds, a paleontologist at Bournemouth University, England, and study co-author, said humans arrived as a dominant predator. The lake was part of a semiarid habitat, likely drawing animals and allowing for ambush hunting. As the world warmed, however, the megafauna died out. "The extinction of the megafauna may be due to climate change and human hunting pressure," she said.

aquatic plant (*Ruppia cirrhosa*) were preserved above and below one set of the footprints. Scientists carbon-dated them to at least 5,000 years earlier than existing evidence of human settlement there.

A prevailing theory has been that human migration from Asia to the Americas was impossible until Ice Age glaciers had retreated, sometime between 13,000 and 16,000 years ago. Evidence of older settlements has also been found in Chile and Texas, which makes the footprints at White Sands the latest find to weaken that hypothesis. If the footprints in New Mexico were made 21,000 to 23,000 years ago (during the Last Glacial Maximum), then humans must have lived in the Americas before the Ice Age.

Lingering Questions

Not all scientists consider that the dating of the seeds proves the age of the footsteps. They point to a phenomenon called the freshwater reservoir effect, in which the seeds could have absorbed older carbon from the lake water, making them seem older than they are. The study's authors, however, say they accounted for the reservoir effect and found it to be negligible.

Loren Davis, an archaeologist at Oregon State University (who did not take part in the study), said further research was needed to verify the extent of the reservoir effect "given the impact and importance" of the claims. If the dating holds, it "will change archaeological perspectives on when people arrived in the Americas," he said. While the footprints do not settle the debate, they boost the theory that humans were in North America earlier than was commonly thought, although the exact time of their first arrival remains undetermined. Looking ahead, the team is in a race against time. "The prints are being lost to soil erosion," said David Bustos, co-author of the study. "Once they are gone they will never be seen again."

—*Braden Phillips*

ANCIENT SEEDS *(RUPPIA CIRRHOSA)* FOUND AT THE SITE DATED THE FOOTPRINTS TO BETWEEN 21,000 AND 23,000 YEARS AGO.

PHOTO: DAVID BUSTOS

Ada Lovelace, Programming Pioneer

Born to a mathematician and a Romantic poet, Ada Lovelace combined her parents' gifts into her own unique vision of a future world where computing could be king.

On a summer Monday evening in 1833, Ada Byron and her mother Anne Isabella "Annabella" Byron went to the home of English mathematician Charles Babbage. Twelve days earlier, when the younger Byron met Babbage at a high society soiree, she had been taken with his description of a machine he was building.

The hand-cranked apparatus of bronze and steel used stacks of cogs, hammer-like metal arms, and thousands of numbered wheels to automatically solve mathematical equations. But the Difference Engine, as Babbage called it, was incomplete. He had finished a small prototype that stood about two-and-a-half feet tall. The clanging, whirring showpiece was able to spit out answers to challenging mathematical equations. Babbage believed the complete product had the potential to solve much more complex problems. The Difference Engine's demonstration piece set London's intellectual circles and scientific community alight, wowing the likes of Charles Darwin and Charles Dickens. Its performance was near miraculous, even to London's greatest intellects—an almost sorcerous parlor trick for Babbage.

While the Difference Engine wasn't magical to 17-year-old Ada Byron, it was transformative. Upon seeing the machine on that fateful evening in 1833, she understood how it worked. In Ada, 41-year-old Babbage found his intellectual equal, and over the course of the next two decades, Ada would prove that her understanding and vision for such machines went far beyond mere calculation.

An Analytical Childhood

Ada Lovelace was born Augusta Ada Byron on December 10, 1815, into Victorian English high society. Her mother, Annabella Byron, was one of the few women of her generation to be afforded an education. She passed her love of knowledge—and mathematics in particular—on to her daughter, hiring famous mathematicians to tutor young Ada and instructing Ada herself when she could not find a suitable tutor.

It wasn't just the selfless pursuit of knowledge that led Annabella to ensure her daughter had the best education. Annabella was worried that too much

Words and Numbers

1815

Ada is born. Her father, the English poet Lord Byron, will abandon the family one month later and never see her or her mother again.

1816

Ada's parents' marriage is dissolved. Her childhood will be spent in England. When she is eight, her father will die in Greece.

1833

After a rigorous education, Ada's gift for mathematics emerges. She meets inventor Charles Babbage.

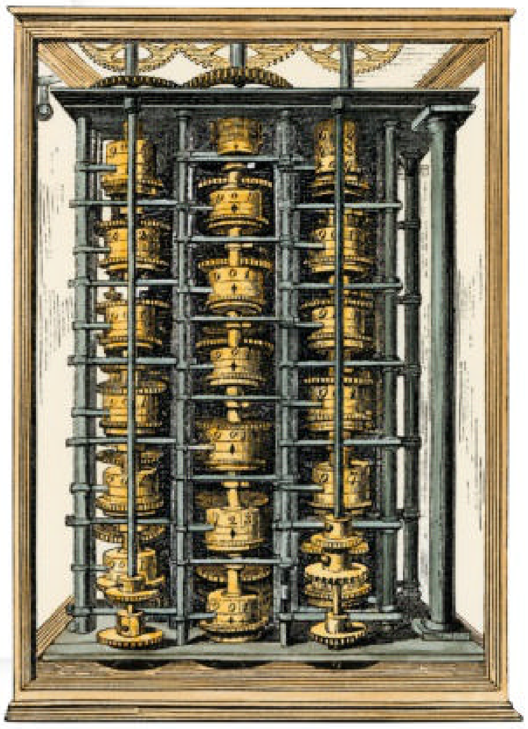
1835

Ada marries William, the eighth Baron King, who will become the first Earl of Lovelace.

1842-43

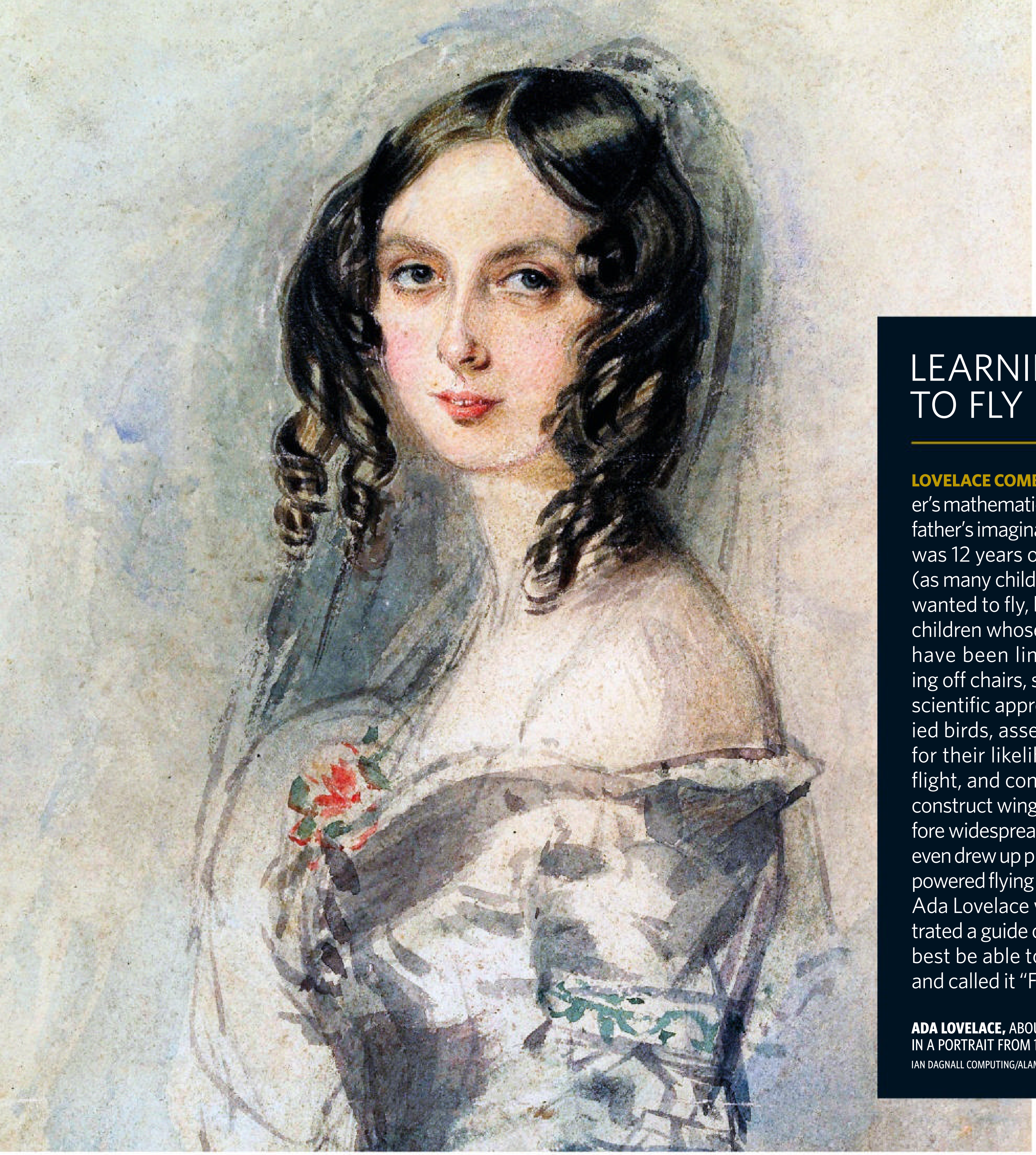
Commenting on a paper on Babbage's Analytical Engine, Ada pens the first computer program.

By her late teens, Lovelace was more interested in talking to scientists and mathematicians than suitors.



CALCULATING MACHINE, KNOWN AS THE DIFFERENCE ENGINE, DESIGNED BY CHARLES BABBAGE, 19TH-CENTURY HAND-COLORED WOODCUT

NORTH WIND PICTURE ARCHIVES/ALAMY



LEARNING TO FLY

LOVELACE COMBINED her mother's mathematical rigor with her father's imagination. When she was 12 years old, she decided (as many children do) that she wanted to fly, but unlike other children whose attempts may have been limited to jumping off chairs, she took a more scientific approach. She studied birds, assessed materials for their likelihood to enable flight, and considered how to construct wings. In this era before widespread electricity, she even drew up plans for a steam-powered flying machine. Young Ada Lovelace wrote and illustrated a guide on how she may best be able to achieve flight and called it "Flyology."

ADA LOVELACE, ABOUT AGE 20, IN A PORTRAIT FROM 1835

IAN DAGNALL COMPUTING/ALAMY

unchecked imagination could bring out the influence of Ada's absentee father, the poet George Gordon Byron, better known to the world as Lord Byron. Described by one of his mistresses as "mad, bad, and dangerous to know," Lord Byron was famous for his wordsmithery and infamous for his licentious and tortured public life. As a Romantic-era celebrity, his addiction and mental health struggles were visible for all to see.

Annabella and he were briefly married, but when Ada was born, Byron was reportedly quite angry about the sex of the child. On a January morning in 1816, less than five weeks after Ada's birth, Annabella quietly gathered the baby and left for her parents' country home, moving them away from Byron and his influence. Within a matter of months, Lord Byron had left England for good. Ada, Bryon's only child born in wedlock, never knew her father. He died when Ada was eight years old.

Intellectual Equals

Lady Byron, fearful that Ada would inherit her father's self-destructive tendencies, nurtured her daughter's analytical side, and Ada's childhood passion for mathematics proved enduring. By the time Ada entered her late teens, her mother noted (with wry pride) that she was more interested in talking to scientists and mathematicians than potential suitors from England's elite. In 1835 Ada married William King, a member of the English nobility. He soon became the Earl of Lovelace, giving Ada the title Countess of Lovelace. The two shared a love of horses—and her husband appears to have supported Ada's intellect and thirst for knowledge.

Perhaps Ada's most fruitful relationship was her lifelong friendship with Charles

HORSLEY TOWERS, a mock-Tudor mansion in Surrey, southern England, was begun in 1820. Ada Lovelace's husband acquired it in 1840 and added a great hall and towers to the complex.

ALAN SPENCER PHOTOGRAPHY/ALAMY

Babbage. On an evening together in 1834, Babbage explained to Ada and her mother an idea he had for another invention. Although the Difference Engine—that clanging, hand-cranked machine he had demonstrated for Ada the previous year—remained unfinished, Babbage was already envisioning a machine more complicated and more capable. It would be powered by steam, and its spinning wheels would take up as much space as a locomotive.

He called the imagined machine the Analytical Engine, and it would be able to do more than simple math; instead, it would be able to "[eat] its own tail," in Babbage's words, which meant that the machine could store its outputs and then employ them in other equations. In essence, this machine would not just calculate; it would compute.

Fascinated with the invention and its potential, Lovelace stayed in close communication with Babbage as he developed the machine's schematics. In 1842 Italian mathematician (and future prime minister) Luigi Federico Menabrea published a paper on Babbage's proposed machine, which Lovelace eagerly translated into English, in hopes of drumming up more support for the invention in England. She signed her translation only as "A.A.L."

Along with the translated article, Lovelace submitted her own notes on the Analytical Engine. Her "Translator's Note" dwarfed the translated article itself, clocking in at well over double Menabrea's word count. In the notes, Lovelace included her own explanation of how the hypothetical machine would work, expressed in considerably greater detail than Menabrea's original paper.

FATHER OF COMPUTING

ENGLISH MATHEMATICIAN and inventor Charles Babbage was born in 1791. Devoted to math and science, he helped found the Analytical Society in 1812 to introduce European innovations in mathematics to England. His Analytical Engine — though never fully realized — is often considered to be the first modern computer.

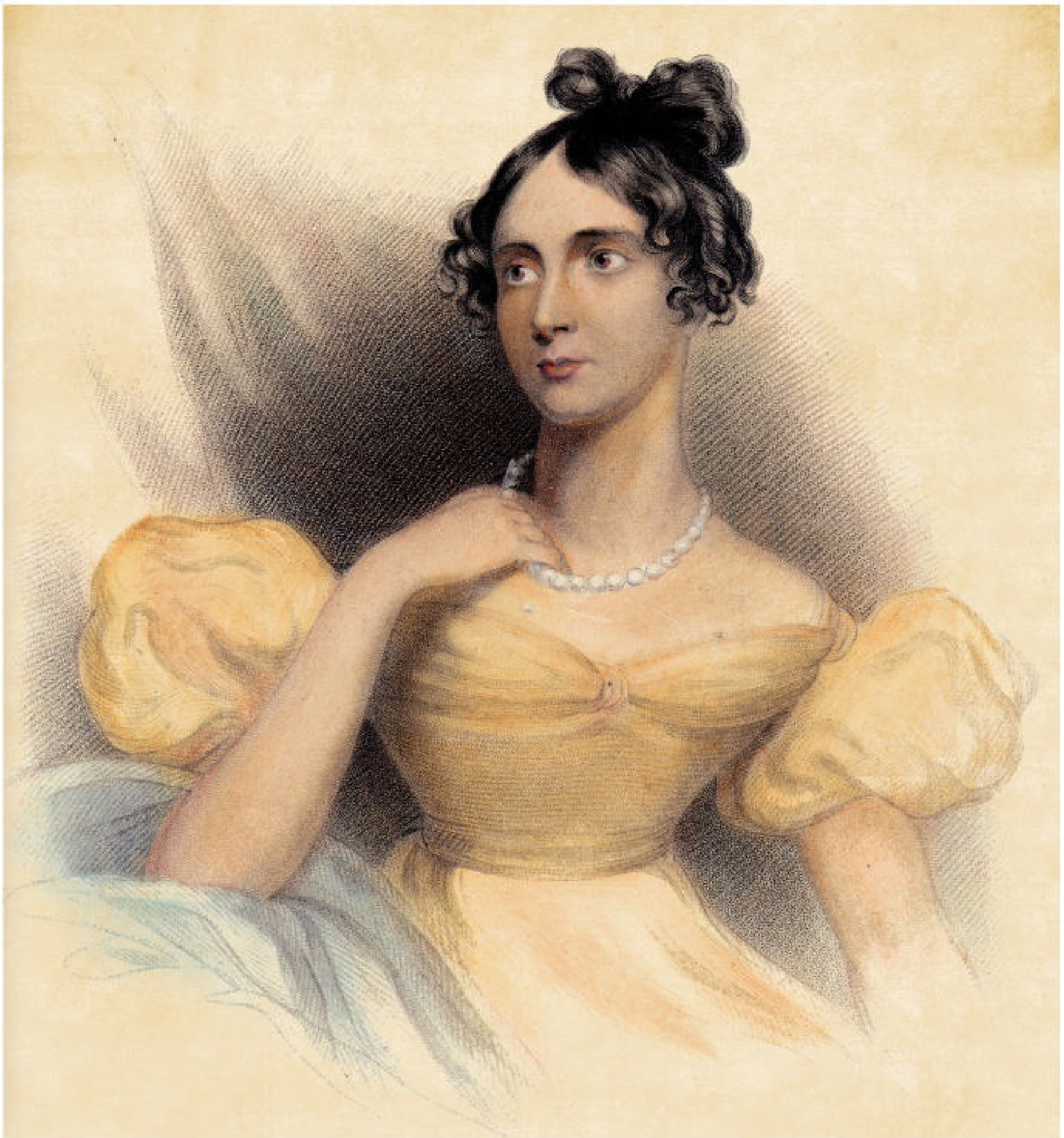
Henri Claudet
107, Regent Street

CHARLES BABBAGE, PHOTOGRAPHED CIRCA 1860

ALAMY

MINDFUL MOTHER

LADY BYRON was born Anne Isabella "Annabella" Milbanke on May 17, 1792, the only child of wealthy, liberal-minded parents in northern England. Her childhood education was first rate, and she excelled at mathematics. During her courtship with Lord Byron, he referred to her as the "Princess of Parallelograms." Though often publicly regarded as cold and punishing for stifling her daughter's creativity, Lady Byron and Ada Lovelace appear to have had an intellectually stimulating relationship in adulthood, often going to Babbage's soirees and scientific exhibitions together. Lovelace excitedly shared her translation and notes on the Analytical Machine with her mother. Lady Byron was also deeply involved in many social movements, establishing cooperative schools and providing aid to those who had escaped slavery.



ANNABELLA BYRON, ADA LOVELACE'S MOTHER, STIPPLE ENGRAVING, 1833 ALBUM/GRANGER, NYC

Lovelace explained that the machine would function similarly to the Jacquard loom—an invention that had transformed the textile industry in the 19th century. The loom used a series of punch cards to partially automate the mechanical production of woven patterns and images. Rather than a person manipulating certain threads to create a pattern, the presence or absence of a punch on the card automatically told the loom which threads to raise, creating complex designs in a mere fraction of the time. The cards were a sort of binary code, and the Analytical Engine, too, would run on punch cards. "The Analytical Engine weaves algebraic patterns just as the Jacquard loom weaves flowers and leaves," Lovelace wrote.

Perhaps the most influential of her notes was titled "Note G." In this note, she wrote a detailed description of how punch cards could be used in the Analytical Engine to output a long sequence of Bernoulli numbers—a series of rational numbers that recur throughout mathematics. Her note converted a mathematical calculation into a series of instructions that could be executed by the Analytical Engine. With this note, Lovelace had written the first computer program—for a machine that did not even exist, and was known only by description.

Poetical Science

Lovelace's vision for the device went far beyond just the ability to calculate complex equations. In her notes, she argued that anything that could be represented by numbers—such as musical notes and letters—could also be manipulated by such machines. She foresaw an age in which people worked collaboratively with such machines. Her vision for these devices went far beyond the ideas of Babbage himself, who believed the machine's usefulness would stop at computation.

In her work, Lovelace balanced her mother's analytical rigor and her father's whimsy. She published detailed, concrete descriptions of how a hypothetical computer would function while writing poetically about the potential of a machined future. Her mathematical intellect paired with her creativity allowed her to envision an abstract field that came to be known as computing. She called her own work "poetical science."

Lovelace died of uterine cancer in 1852 at just 36 years old. She never saw the Analytical Engine completed. In fact, the machine has never been built. Babbage completed only a small piece of the Analytical Engine before his death in 1871. But in 1979—well over 100 years after Lovelace wrote the first computer program—a computing language used in transportation and military systems worldwide was named Ada in her honor.

—*Katie Thornton*

Fit for a Queen
Pizza Margherita

LUCIANO FURIA/GETTY

The iconic Neapolitan dish was allegedly named for Queen Margherita of Italy after she sampled it in Naples, but food historians say this origin story, served up for years by chefs and authors alike, is more than a little half-baked.

Pizza is one of the most popular dishes in the whole world. This simple combination of baked flatbread, tomatoes, and cheese flowered in Italy and then spread to the United States in the early 20th century with Italian immigrants. Pizza's popularity exploded in America, becoming ubiquitous across the nation.

There are many different styles of pizza, but only one has a royal pedigree. The origin story began when the queen of Italy visited Naples in 1889. Strolling through the streets of the city center, Queen Margherita and her husband smelled a delicious aroma wafting from a pizzeria.

HUSBAND AND WIFE, RAFFAELE ESPOSITO AND MARIA GIOVANNA BRANDI

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

Intrigued, the couple invited the chef of the establishment, Raffaele Esposito, to the city's Capodimonte Palace to cook the dish for them there. Esposito prepared three different kinds of pizza. One option emulated the colors of the Italian flag: It featured red tomatoes, white mozzarella, and fresh green basil.

The following day, Esposito received a letter from Camillo Galli, head of the Services of the Table of the Royal Household, which read: "Esteemed Signor Raffaele Esposito. I confirm that the three kinds of pizza prepared by you for her Royal Highness the Queen were found to be excellent." Although Margherita enjoyed all three pizzas, she declared the red, white, and green to be her favorite. Esposito duly named it after her, and a classic Neapolitan specialty was born.

Pizza and Patriotism

This tale, with variations, continues to be told in tourist guides, cookbooks, and food histories. It has the right ingredients for popular appeal: the fairy-tale motif of a queen sampling the food of the common people, and the patriotic overtones embodied by the colors of the pizza and the Italian flag.

Aspects of the story have been verified. Historians confirm that in 1889, Esposito was the owner of a pizzeria (which, by coincidence, he had renamed as The Queen of Italy Pizzeria six years before). Umberto and Margherita were indeed in Naples when the pizza letter was sent on June 11, 1889. Galli was the head of the Services of the Table of the Royal Household, and the royals did have a motive to ingratiate themselves with the Neapolitans, who had chafed under the high taxes of the new Kingdom of Italy.

The movement to free Italy from foreign rule had begun in the early 1800s. In 1861 southern Italy and Naples was wrested from its Bourbon rulers (who were linked to Spain), and the independent Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed.

The inclusion of Rome in the new kingdom in 1870 completed unification. In 1878 Italy's second king was crowned: Umberto I, with Margherita as his queen. United Italy, its flag, and its monarchy, however, were new concepts, and not popular with all. In the first year of his reign, Umberto survived an assassination attempt in Naples. Food, therefore, could be a unifier, especially a Neapolitan pizza, made with the colors of the flag, praised by—and named for—the queen.

Cooking up a Myth

Was the pizza Margherita a savvy piece of culinary diplomacy crafted by royal officials? Having the royal family sample the food of the people would be a way to win over hearts and minds. Traditionally, the origin story has been interpreted that

CHANGING CUISINES

QUEEN MARGHERITA may never have eaten her namesake pizza in Naples, as attitudes toward the dish were somewhat negative. Journalist Matilde Serao's late 19th-century book *The Belly of Naples* described pizza at that time as extremely cheap fare that "turns yellow in the sun, eaten by the flies." The centrality of tomatoes to pizza also explains why many Europeans initially found pizza unpalatable: A member of the nightshade family of plants, the fruit was associated with poison. In the course of the 1900s, Europeans overcame their prejudices, clearing the way for Neapolitan cuisine to conquer the world.

MARGHERITA OF SAVOY (1851-1926), CONSORT OF UMBERTO I, KING OF ITALY, PHOTOGRAPHED LATE 19TH CENTURY

PRINT COLLECTOR/ALBUM

way. According to recent research, however, the story is not only just that, a story, but one based on forgery.

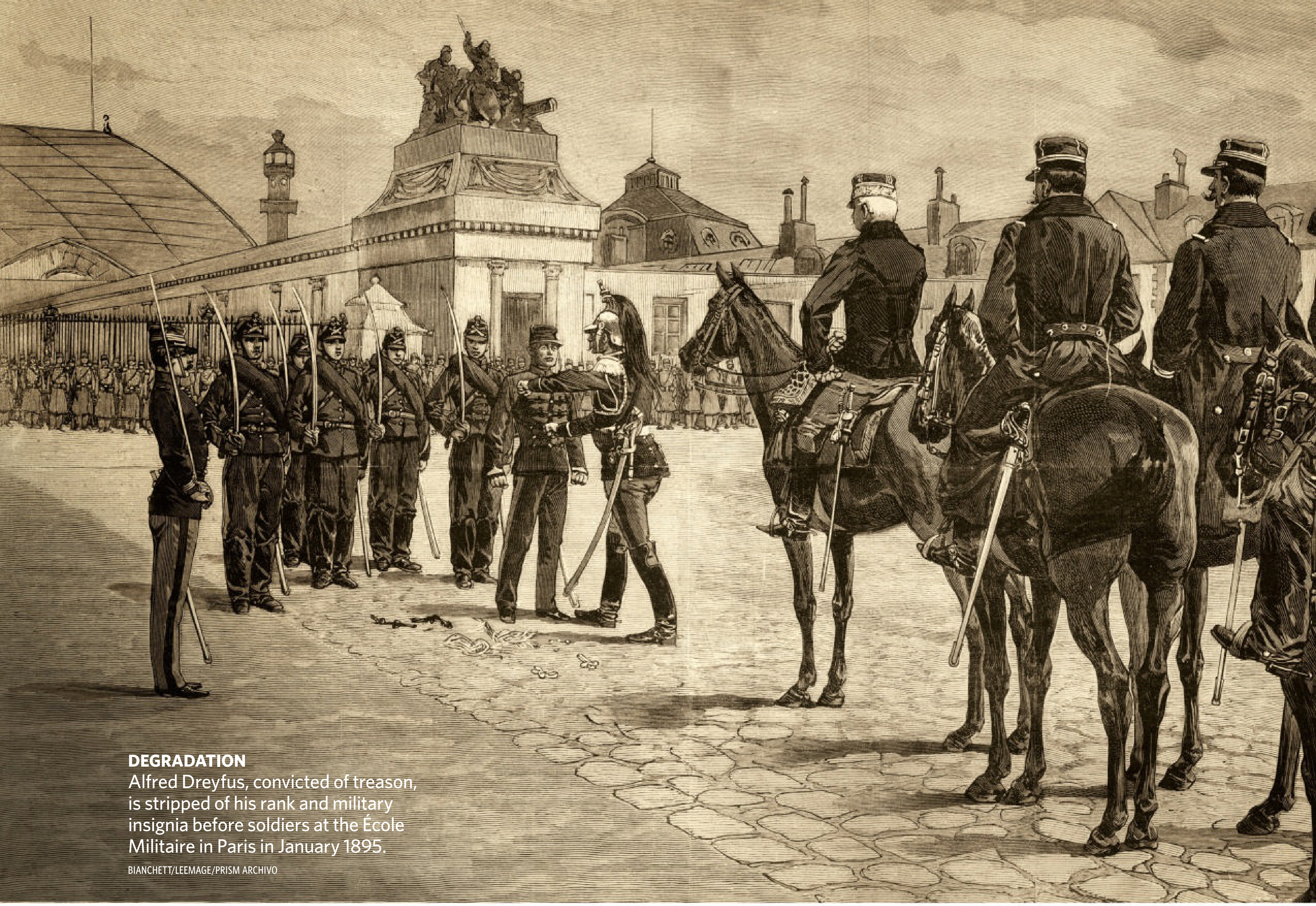
Food historians have found several key holes in the account. Probably the most damning is that the dish existed at least three decades before any royal visit to Naples. In an 1853 collection of essays about Neapolitan customs, author Emanuele Rocco describes a pizza topped with "*basilico, muzzarella, e pomodoro*": basil, mozzarella, and tomatoes.

Local records reveal no contemporary reference to the Esposito pizzeria incident. The *Gazette of the Kingdom of Italy*, which published royal news, has no mention of the queen's visit or Galli's letter to Esposito. Samples of Galli's handwriting have been compared to the signature of the letter sent to Esposito; they do not match. So if Galli did not write the letter on behalf of the queen, who did? A possible clue lies in the name of the letter's recipient: Raffaele Esposito Brandi. The inclusion of this second surname is odd. Raffaele Esposito's wife, Maria Giovanna, had the maiden name of Brandi. Traditionally, European men do not take their wives' last names, so Esposito would not have used Brandi. There were, however, two people linked to the pizzeria who would have: Giovanni and Pasquale Brandi, Maria's nephews who took over the pizzeria in 1932.

One theory is that the Brandi brothers, trying to drum up business, crafted the hoax. Having renamed the establishment the Pizzeria Brandi in 1932, the letter they allegedly forged had to have a reference to the Brandi name. Tales of the royals eating street food were widespread in Italy. In 1880, a decade before the pizza letter was allegedly sent, a similar story appeared in the newspaper *Il Bersagliere*, in which Queen Margherita praised a pizza-maker's wares.

Esposito's pizzeria is still in business today and is still called Pizzeria Brandi. The veracity of the pizza Margherita story is still in question, but in 1989, to mark the 100th anniversary of the pizza's naming, a commemorative plaque was placed on the wall outside.

—*Braden Phillips*



DEGRADATION
Alfred Dreyfus, convicted of treason, is stripped of his rank and military insignia before soldiers at the École Militaire in Paris in January 1895.

BIANCHETT/LEEMAGE/PRISM ARCHIVO

The Dreyfus Affair: France's Battle for the Truth

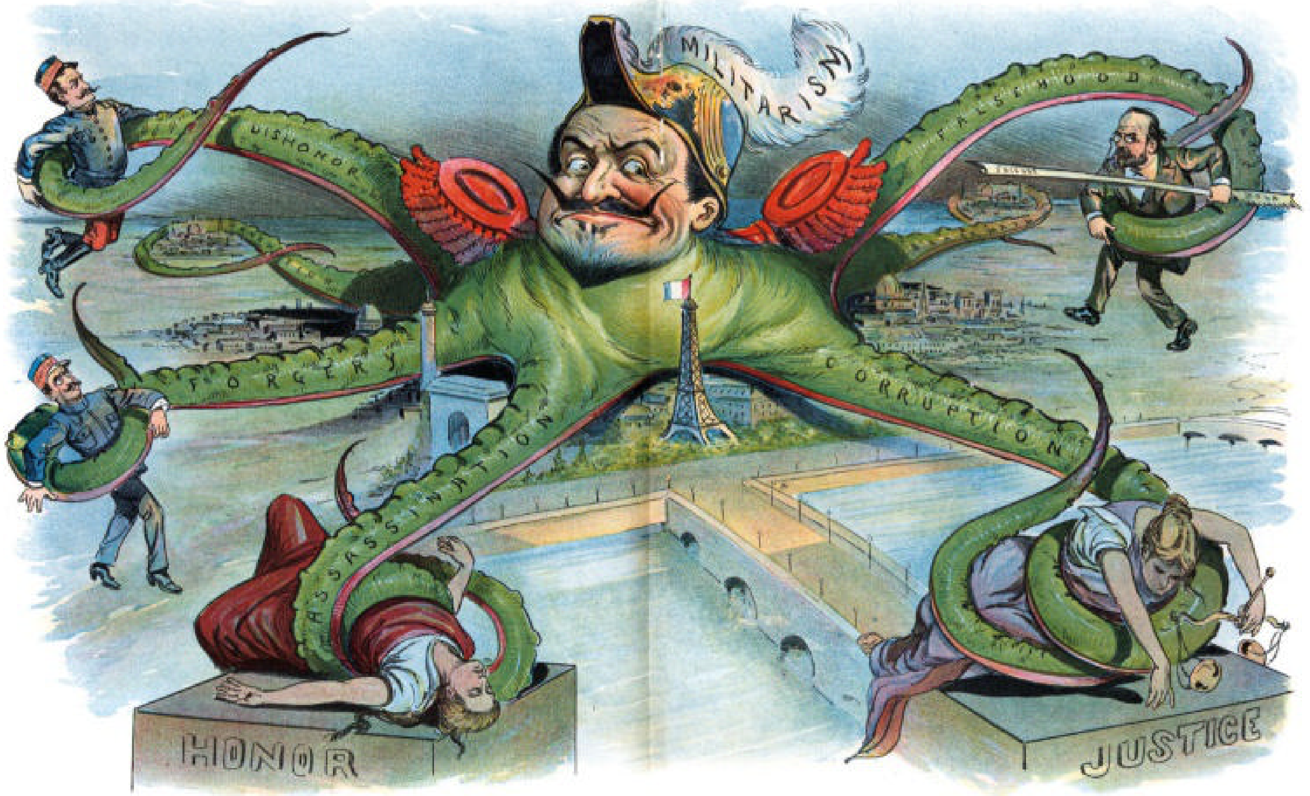
Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish officer, was wrongly convicted of selling military secrets to France's enemies. The controversial case caused a devastating split in France that lingers today.

When Alfred Dreyfus was summoned to the French Ministry of War on October 15, 1894, he had no inkling that his life, and French society as a whole, was about to be turned upside down.

Dreyfus was a promising officer who believed he had a bright career ahead of him. Gen. Armand du Paty de Clam greeted him and, due to a bandaged right hand, asked Dreyfus to write a note on his behalf—a ploy to obtain a sample of Dreyfus's handwriting without arousing any suspicion. After examining the note, du Paty, an amateur graphologist, concluded that Dreyfus's handwriting matched that on a *bordereau,* or memo, that had recently been recovered from the wastebasket of the German Embassy in Paris.

In 1894 the French military believed a spy was in their midst. France was still reeling from its humiliating defeat by German forces in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. Suspicions that someone in their ranks was still passing secrets to the Germans hardened into certainty when the bordereau came to light; whoever had written it was offering to sell reports on French artillery to the Germans. On the basis of his so-called expertise in handwriting analysis, du Paty accused Dreyfus of betraying France and arrested him for high treason.

The unsigned bordereau was the only evidence against Dreyfus, but two other factors put him squarely in the



"THE PERIL OF FRANCE." AMERICAN CARTOONIST LOUIS DALRYMPLE DEPICTED MILITARISM AS AN OCTOPUS WHOSE TENTACLES OF DISHONOR, DECEPTION, FORGERY, ASSASSINATION, CORRUPTION, FALSEHOOD, AND BLACKMAIL WERE STRANGLING FRANCE.

WORLD HISTORY ARCHIVE/ALAMY

crosshairs. First, he was from Alsace, a German-speaking French province that had been annexed by Germany after the war. Second, Dreyfus was Jewish, a fact that confirmed his guilt in a society pervaded by anti-Semitism. The military leaked the story to the anti-Semitic press, which ran a virulent campaign against the Jewish officer. Knowing the evidence of Dreyfus's guilt was weak, du Paty attempted to secure a confession, but Dreyfus insisted on his innocence.

Contrived Conviction

Dreyfus's wife, Lucie, and his brother, Mathieu, hired a lawyer who felt confident of an acquittal. With the court-martial coming up in December, army commanders sought to buttress their case and turned to another officer, Maj. Hubert Henry, to find new evidence.

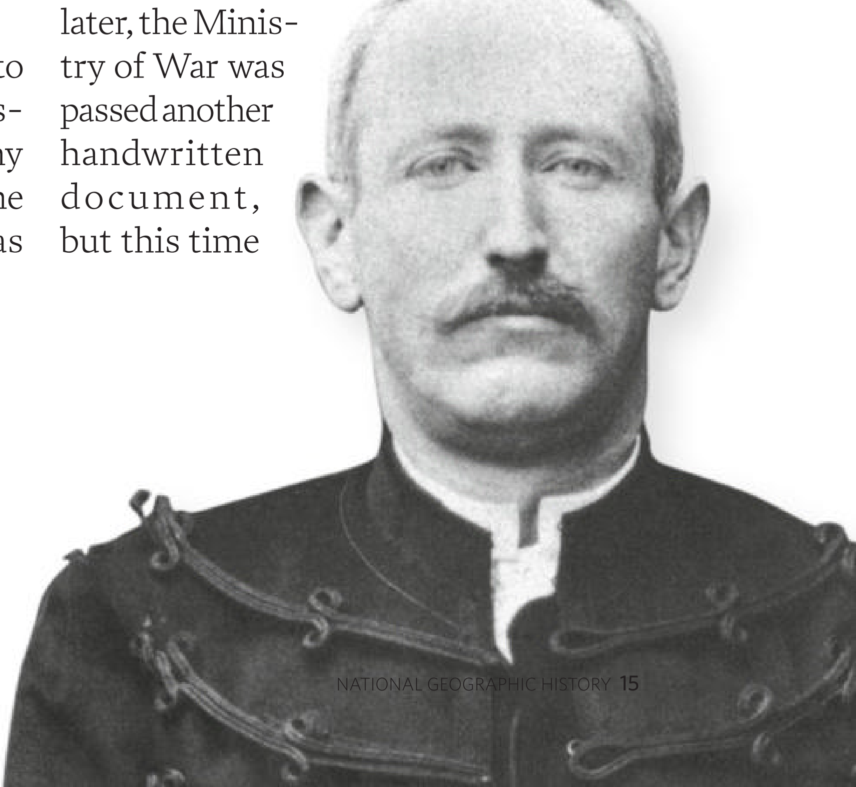
At the trial, Henry handed the judges a secret dossier which, it was later revealed, contained correspondence between the German military attaché in Paris and his Italian counterpart. One of these letters supposedly mentioned "this scoundrel of D." Dreyfus's defense lawyer was neither informed of nor allowed to see the dossier. The judges considered the evidence strong, and Dreyfus was found guilty of high treason. He was to serve his sentence on Devil's Island, a penal colony off French Guiana in South America.

As part of the sentence, he also had to face military degradation, a ritual dismissal from his position. In a ceremony in January 1895 in the courtyard of the École Militaire in Paris, Dreyfus was stripped of his rank while an official ripped off his military insignia and broke his sword in two. He was then led back to jail amid jeers of "Judas! Coward!" from the watching crowds.

Public opinion was strongly against Dreyfus at this point. Most of France believed him a traitor, many expressing outrage that he hadn't been executed. When he was taken to prison in April 1895, reports circulated of crowds in Paris shouting, "Death to the Jews!" Dreyfus was placed in solitary confinement on Devil's Island, but his family stood fast in maintaining his innocence.

As it turned out, the verdict against Dreyfus did not end the case. About a year later, the Ministry of War was passed another handwritten document, but this time

In April 1895 Dreyfus was placed in solitary confinement on Devil's Island, but his family stood fast in maintaining his innocence.

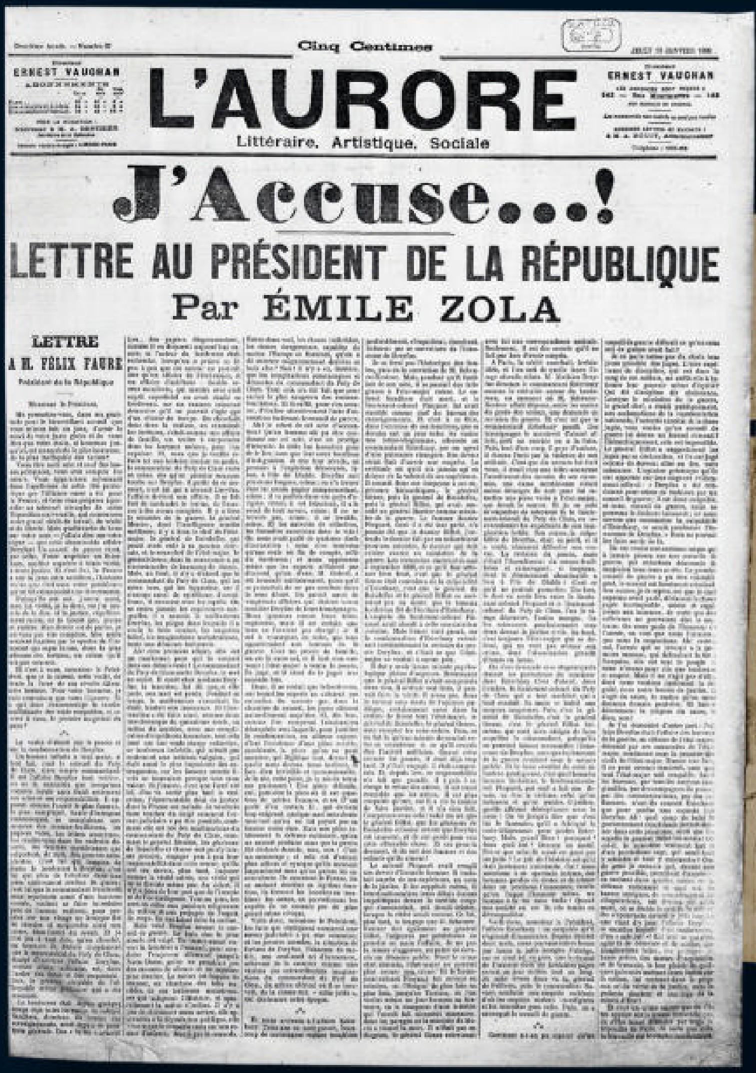


ALFRED DREYFUS, PHOTOGRAPHED AFTER HIS DECEMBER 1894 CONVICTION OF TREASON

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

Power of the Pen

WORDS, in the form of the *bordereau* (memorandum), falsely attributed to Dreyfus, helped convict him. But words, forming one of the most famous front pages in the history of journalism, also helped free him. Émile Zola's "*J'Accuse . . . !*" of January 1898 inveighed against a travesty of justice. "What a cesspool of folly and foolishness . . . what corrupt police tactics, what inquisitorial, tyrannical practices!" By the evening, 200,000 copies had been sold. The article was instrumental in generating public outcry about the Dreyfus conviction. Soon after receiving his pardon from the French government on September 19, 1899, Dreyfus thanked Zola for his efforts, calling the letter a "heroic act . . . whose greatness will remain incomparable when the dust from the struggle has settled, when history shall have recorded it."



Cinq Centimes

ERNEST VAUGHAN

L'AURORE

Littéraire, Artistique, Sociale

ERNEST VAUGHAN

J'Accuse...!

LETTRE AU PRÉSIDENT DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE

Par ÉMILE ZOLA

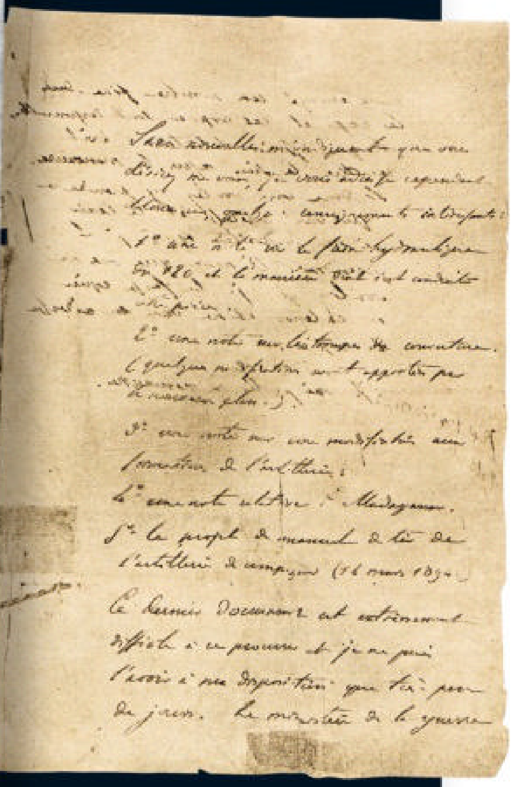
LETTRE

A M. FÉLIX FAURE

Président de la République

ZOLA'S ARTICLE IN *L'AURORE*, JANUARY 13, 1898

AGENCE BULLOZ/RMN-GRAND PALAIS



BORDEREAU (MEMORANDUM)

BNF/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

it came from the German ambassador. It was the draft of a letter addressed to a French officer, Ferdinand Esterhazy. The new head of intelligence services, Georges Picquart, who had no prior involvement with the Dreyfus case, discovered that Esterhazy was in contact with the German Embassy. Picquart assumed Esterhazy must be a second traitor, but when he obtained two handwriting samples from Esterhazy and compared them with the bordereau supposedly written by Dreyfus, he realized that the handwriting was identical. The bordereau had been written by Esterhazy, he concluded, not Dreyfus.

When Picquart insisted on reopening the Dreyfus investigation during the final months of 1896, the army closed ranks. First, the troublesome Picquart was removed from his post, then transferred to Tunis. The army leaked to the press details of the secret dossier given to the judges in the military trial of December 1894. Major Henry, meanwhile, who had helped procure the original secret dossier, came forward with another letter from the Italian military attaché that mentioned Dreyfus by name. This letter—later known as the "*faux Henry*"—was, in fact, a forgery.

Arguing that the secret dossier had not been shown to defense counsel during the trial, Dreyfus's supporters pushed to reopen the investigation. Picquart and a senior senator Auguste Scheurer-Kestner took up their case. Then came a stroke of luck for the Dreyfusards: Esterhazy's stockbroker saw a facsimile of the bordereau and recognized the handwriting as his client's. He informed Mathieu Dreyfus, who denounced Esterhazy. In November 1897 the military was forced to open an inquest into Esterhazy.

Although he was brought to trial in a military court in January 1898, Esterhazy was acquitted in a closed session. Soon after, Picquart was arrested for revealing official secrets. Just when it appeared that Dreyfus was doomed, France's most prominent novelist stepped in.

Zola's Bombshell

On January 13, 1898, the front page of the socialist newspaper *L'Aurore* carried an open letter to the president of the republic by Émile Zola, France's great novelist, then at the height of his fame. Written under the electrifying banner headline "*J'Accuse . . . !,*" it fiercely denounced the military for falsely convicting Dreyfus.

The letter split France into two camps: the Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards. The former, rallying around 18th-century republican ideals of justice and equality, demanded that the case be reopened and the true culprits punished. The latter, pro-army and mostly Catholic, supported the ideals of the ancien régime, and saw the Dreyfus case as an effort to damage military prestige. Meanwhile, the Zola letter provoked a backlash of anti-Semitic violence across

France. Zola was sentenced to jail for libel but fled to England.

Under renewed scrutiny, the lies and falsifications surrounding the Dreyfus case began to unravel. Esterhazy was dismissed from the army for "habitual misconduct" and promptly fled the country for England. The minister of war, Godefroy Cavaignac, who had previously been convinced of Dreyfus's guilt, proclaimed that the letter Henry produced from the Italian military attaché was a forgery. Henry was sent to jail, where he committed suicide. In January 1899 a proposal to have the Dreyfus case heard by a Supreme Court of Appeals was approved.

As the anti-Dreyfusards lost credibility, the right-wing and anti-Semitic nationalist group Ligue des Patriotes attempted a failed coup in February 1898. With France in crisis, the Supreme Court overturned the 1894 verdict against Dreyfus in June 1899, and ruled that he would appear before a new court-martial. After four years on Devil's Island, Dreyfus returned to France in July for the retrial.

Despite the overwhelming evidence of his innocence, the military court still found Dreyfus guilty in another show trial and sentenced him to 10 years in prison, reduced to five for time served. The verdict triggered an uproar. The weakened French government, fearing the consequences of another trial, offered Dreyfus clemency. His health impaired by the years on Devil's Island, Dreyfus accepted the pardon provided that he could continue his fight to prove his innocence.

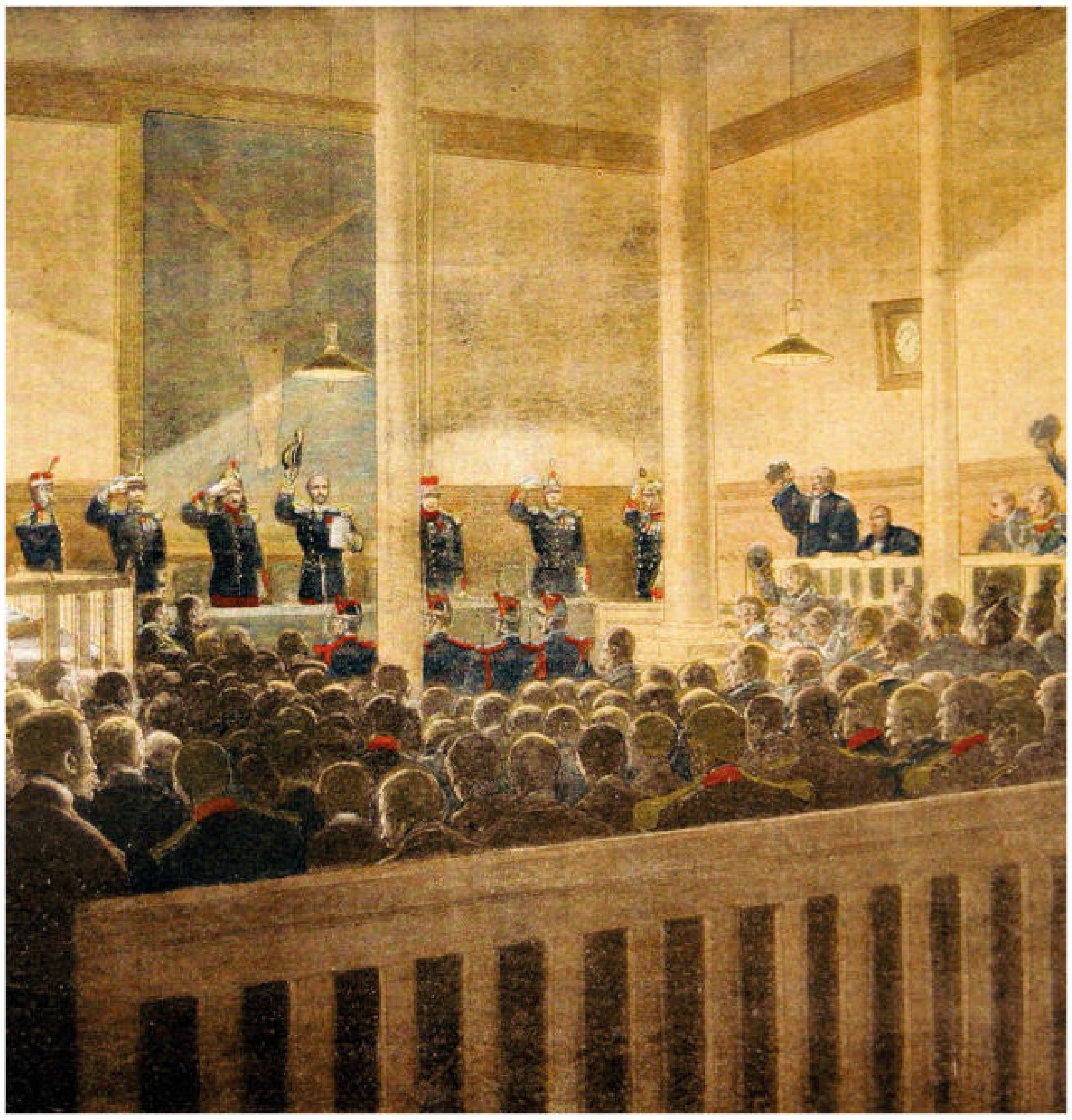
Shortly afterward, the government issued an amnesty on all crimes related to the case, except for Dreyfus to allow him to pursue his exoneration, which he finally received in 1906. He was then reinstated in the army as a lieutenant-colonel and made Chevalier of the Legion of Honor in the same courtyard of the École Militaire where he had been degraded 11 years earlier. With the start of World War I, he reenlisted and fought at the Battle of Verdun, then returned home to a quiet retirement. He would die in Paris in 1935 at the age of 75. The army did not publicly declare his innocence until 1995.

With its explosive combination of "state collaboration in the miscarriage of justice [and] the impact of the media on the public perception of events," the Dreyfus affair, wrote the late Yale University historian Paula Hyman, "raises issues that still resonate today." In November 2021 Éric Zemmour, a prominent far-right political journalist in France, argued that Dreyfus's innocence was "not obvious," a position criticized by France's president, Emmanuel Macron, among many others. The passion incited by Zemmour's words across France shows that the *affaire Dreyfus* is far from over.

—*Ainhoa Campos*

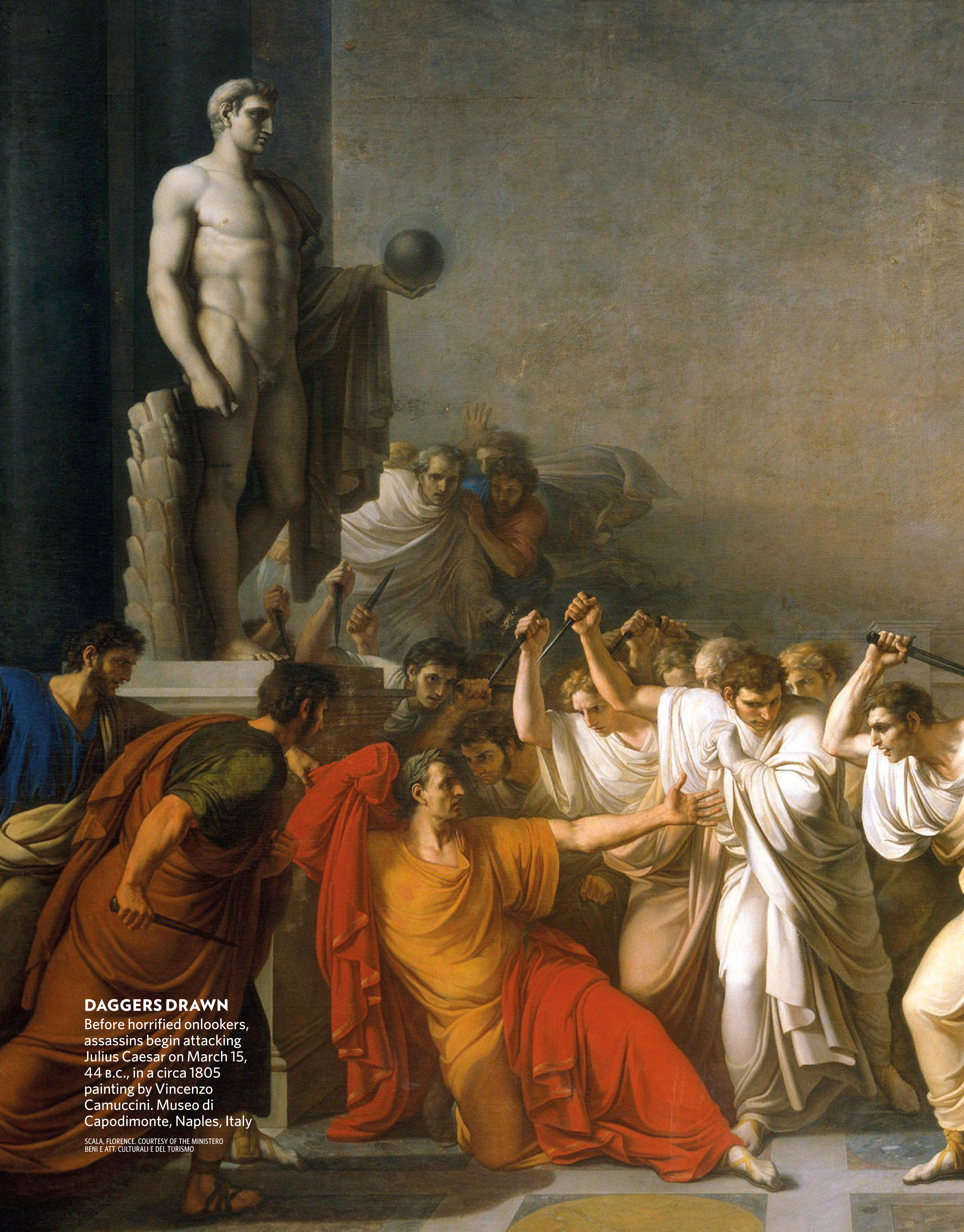
The Real Traitor

FERDINAND Esterhazy, an officer of Hungarian origin, had begun selling French army intelligence to Germany in 1892 to pay off gambling debts. Following Dreyfus's conviction, Esterhazy's stockbroker saw a reproduction of the *bordereau* in the newspaper *Le Figaro* and recognized the handwriting as Esterhazy's. Protected at his trial by military anti-Dreyfusards, Esterhazy escaped punishment, and went to England, where he scraped a living as a translator and writer. He was interviewed by the journalist Rachel Beer for the London *Observer,* in the course of which he confessed: "I wrote the bordereau." The author of several anti-Semitic tracts, Esterhazy died in England in 1923 and was buried under a false name.



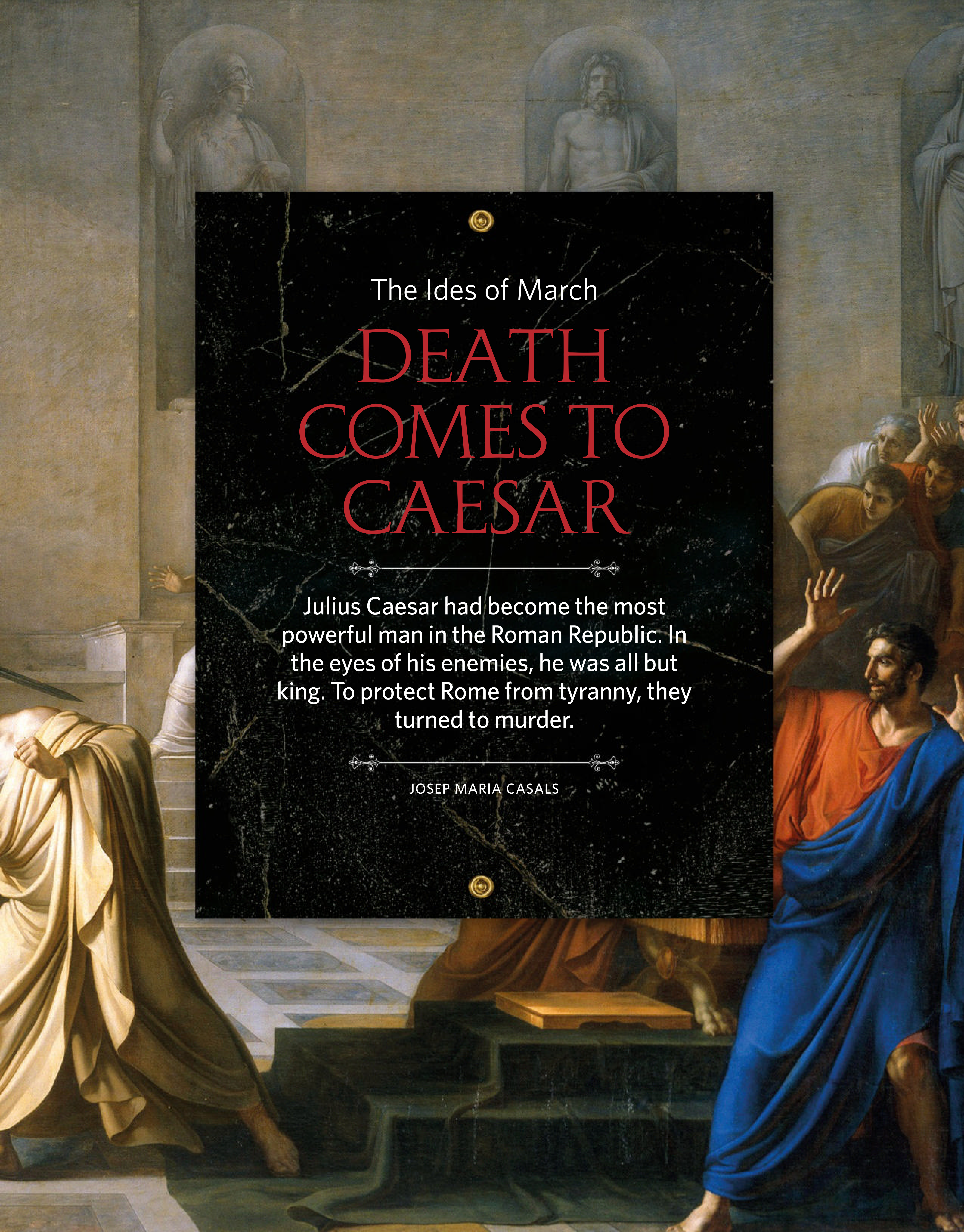
ESTERHAZY'S TRIAL, DEPICTED IN *LE PETIT JOURNAL*, PARIS, IN JANUARY 1898

INTERFOTO/ALAMY



DAGGERS DRAWN
Before horrified onlookers, assassins begin attacking Julius Caesar on March 15, 44 B.C., in a circa 1805 painting by Vincenzo Camuccini. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, Italy

SCALA, FLORENCE. COURTESY OF THE MINISTERO BENI E ATT. CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO

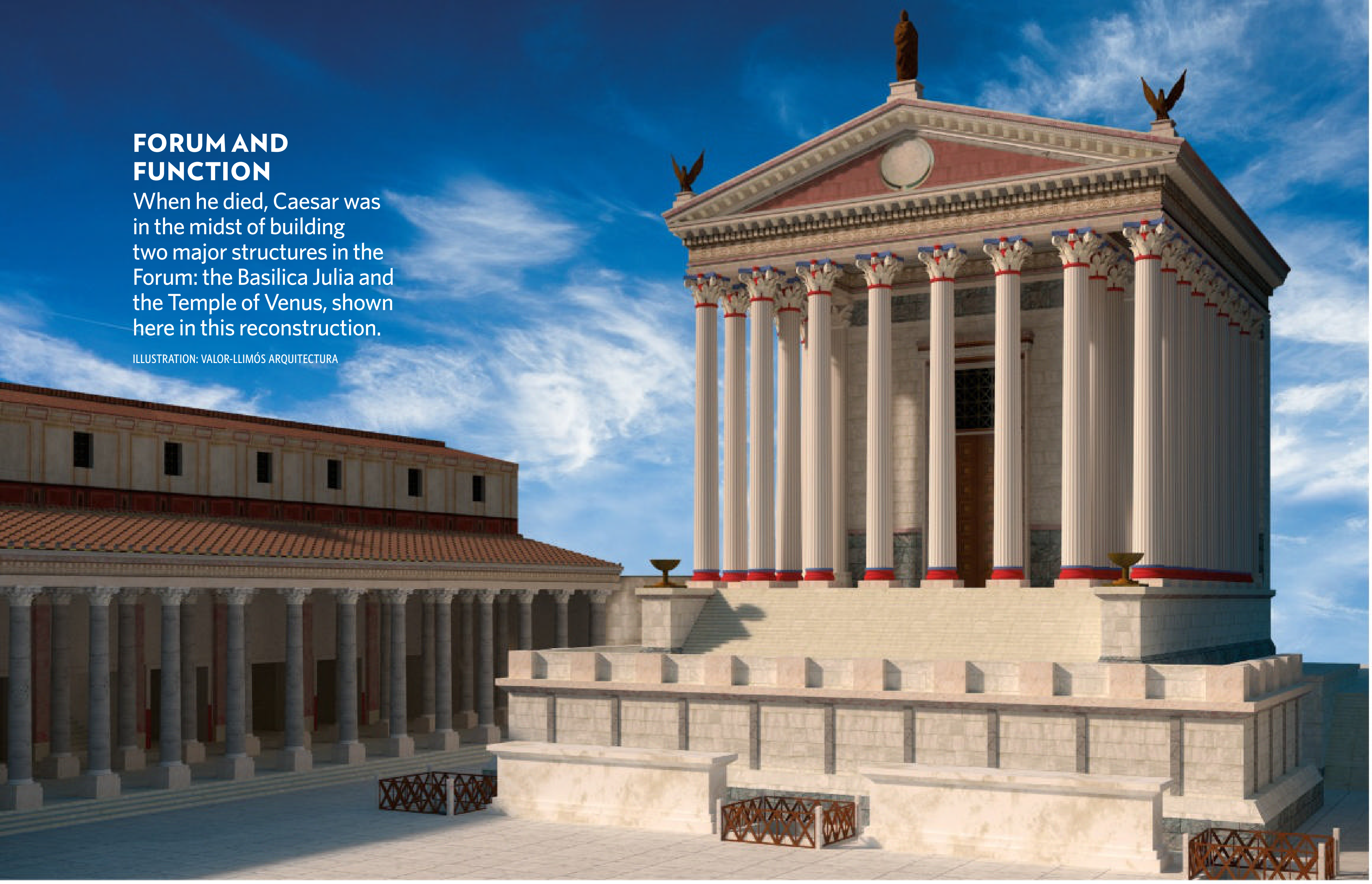


The Ides of March

DEATH COMES TO CAESAR

Julius Caesar had become the most powerful man in the Roman Republic. In the eyes of his enemies, he was all but king. To protect Rome from tyranny, they turned to murder.

JOSEP MARIA CASALS



FORUM AND FUNCTION
When he died, Caesar was in the midst of building two major structures in the Forum: the Basilica Julia and the Temple of Venus, shown here in this reconstruction.

ILLUSTRATION: VALOR-LLIMÓS ARQUITECTURA

CONSPIRATOR CURRENCY
Minted by Brutus in 43-42 B.C., a coin (below) bears the inscription "Eid Mar" ("Ides of March") and commemorates Julius Caesar's assassination.

BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE

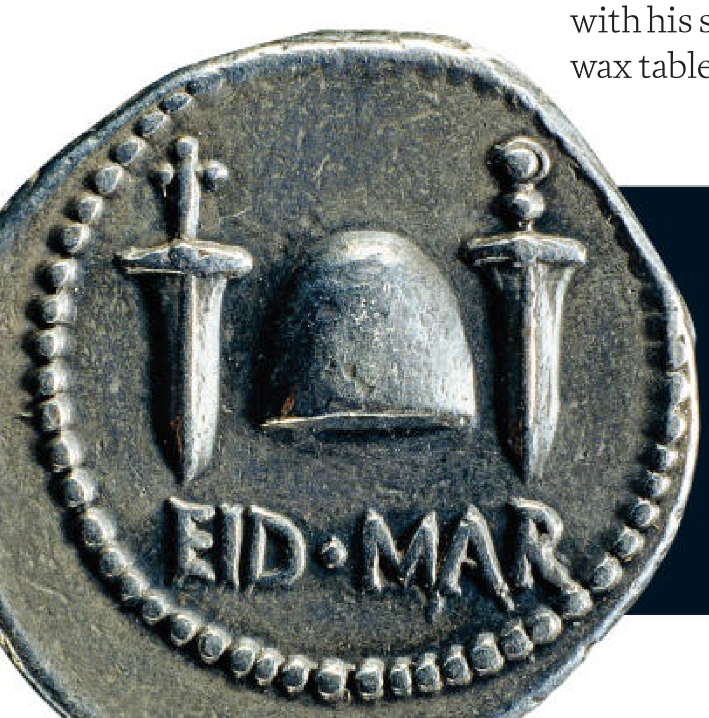
The first blow fell at noon on March 15, 44 B.C. The conspirators "suddenly bared their daggers and rushed upon him," writes Nicholas of Damascus, a first-century B.C. historian. "First [Publius] Servilius Casca stabbed him on the left shoulder a little above the collarbone, at which he had aimed but missed through nervousness."

After Casca's glancing blow, Julius Caesar "snatched his toga from [Tillius] Cimber, seized Casca's hand, sprang from his chair, turned around, and hurled Casca with great violence," according to the Greek historian Appian of Alexandria. Suetonius, a Roman biographer and antiquarian, offers a slightly different account: "Caesar caught Casca's arm and ran it through with his stylus," a sharp tool used for writing on wax tablets that could rip through flesh.

"At almost the same instant both cried out," writes Plutarch, the Greek biographer and historian, describing how Caesar and Casca reacted. Caesar, in Latin, asked, "Accursed Casca, what does thou?" Casca, in Greek, called to his nearby sibling, Gaius, "Brother, help!"

The lethal attack progressed apace. Appian writes that "Cassius wounded [Caesar] in the face, Brutus smote him in the thigh, and Bucolianus between the shoulder-blades." In response to Servilius Casca's cry for help, writes Nicholas, his brother Gaius "drove his sword into Caesar's side."

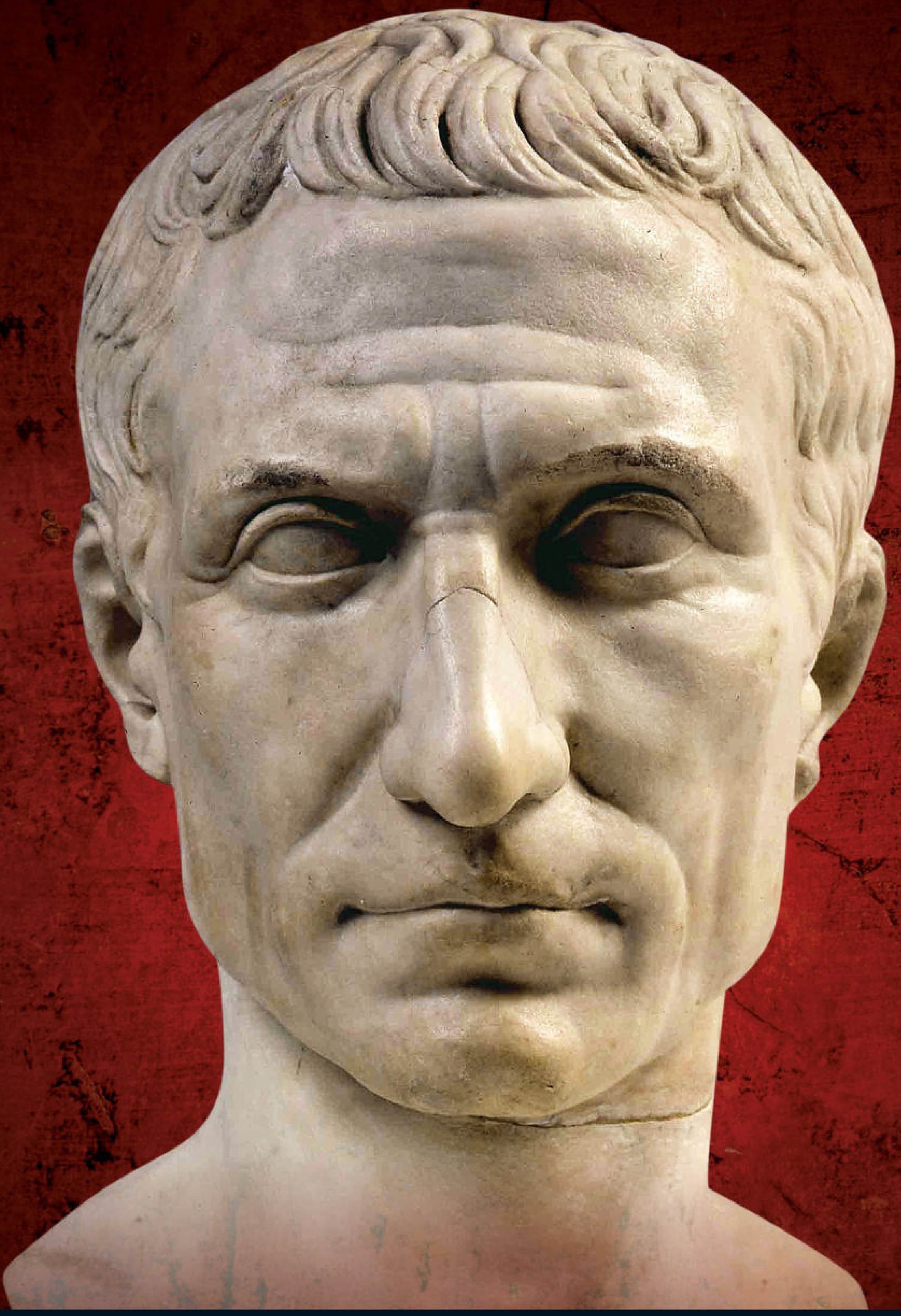
The majority of the Roman Senate, not privy to the assassination plot, sat in horrified silence, too scared to flee, though some rushed into the crowd outside. The frenzied scene that unfolded that fateful Ides of March was a blur of blood and gore.



POWER AND AMBITION

49 B.C.
Caesar and Pompey lead rival factions in a civil war. The following year, Caesar will defeat Pompey, who is then assassinated in Egypt.

46 B.C.
In honor of his military victories, the Senate names Caesar dictator for 10 years and lets him control the election of magistrates.



PORTRAIT OF THE FALLEN

This likeness of Julius Caesar was fashioned after his death on the Ides of March, 44 B.C. Vatican Museums, Rome

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

45 B.C.

In Munda (Hispania), Caesar defeats Pompey's sons. The Senate grants him the title *pater patriae* (father of the fatherland).

JANUARY 44 B.C.

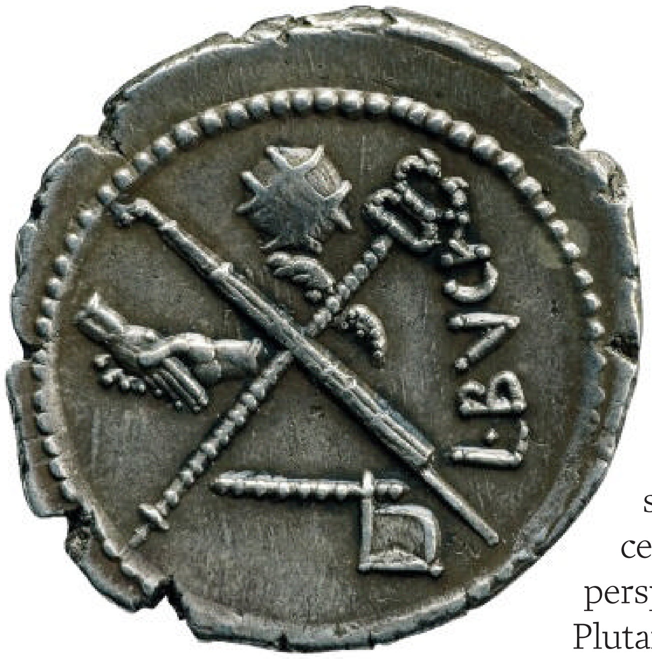
A statue of Caesar on the Rostra, a large platform in the city, is crowned. Caesar is hailed as king upon entering Rome.

FEBRUARY 44 B.C.

Caesar is nominated dictator for life during the Lupercalia festival. He rejects a crown offered to him by Mark Antony.

MARCH 15, 44 B.C.

Fearful of Caesar's influence and ambition, Brutus and Cassius carry out the plot to assassinate Caesar.



CAESAR RULES THE WORLD
Minted just before the Ides of March in 44 B.C., a coin (above) shows two joined hands—a sign of trust between Caesar and his army—and a globe, a symbol of Rome's worldly dominion.

BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE

Murderous Details

The modern understanding of the attack hinges on the accounts of several ancient sources. Each version ends the same way—with Caesar dead and the future of Rome uncertain—but they differ slightly in their perspectives and analyses.

Plutarch, for instance, says the ruler fought back when attacked. "Caesar, hemmed in from all sides, whichever way he turned, confronting blows of weapons aimed at his face and eyes, driven hither and thither like a wild beast, was entangled in the hands of all; for all had to take part in the sacrifice and taste of the slaughter."

Appian's account is similar. After being stabbed several times, "[w]ith rage and outcries Caesar turned now upon one and now upon another like a wild animal." In Suetonius's version, however, Caesar stopped fighting after the first two blows. With his right hand he pulled his toga up to cover his head; with his left, he loosened its folds so that they dropped down, and kept his legs covered as he fell. Caesar died "uttering not a word but merely a groan at the first stroke."

Dio Cassius, a Roman historian writing in the third century, says that Caesar was caught off guard by the attack and could not put up a defense. "[B]y reason of their numbers Caesar was unable to say or do anything, but veiling his face, was slain with many wounds."

"Under the mass of wounds," Nicholas writes, "[Caesar] fell at the foot of Pompey's statue. Everyone wanted to seem to have a part in that murder, and there was not one of them who failed to strike his body as it lay there."

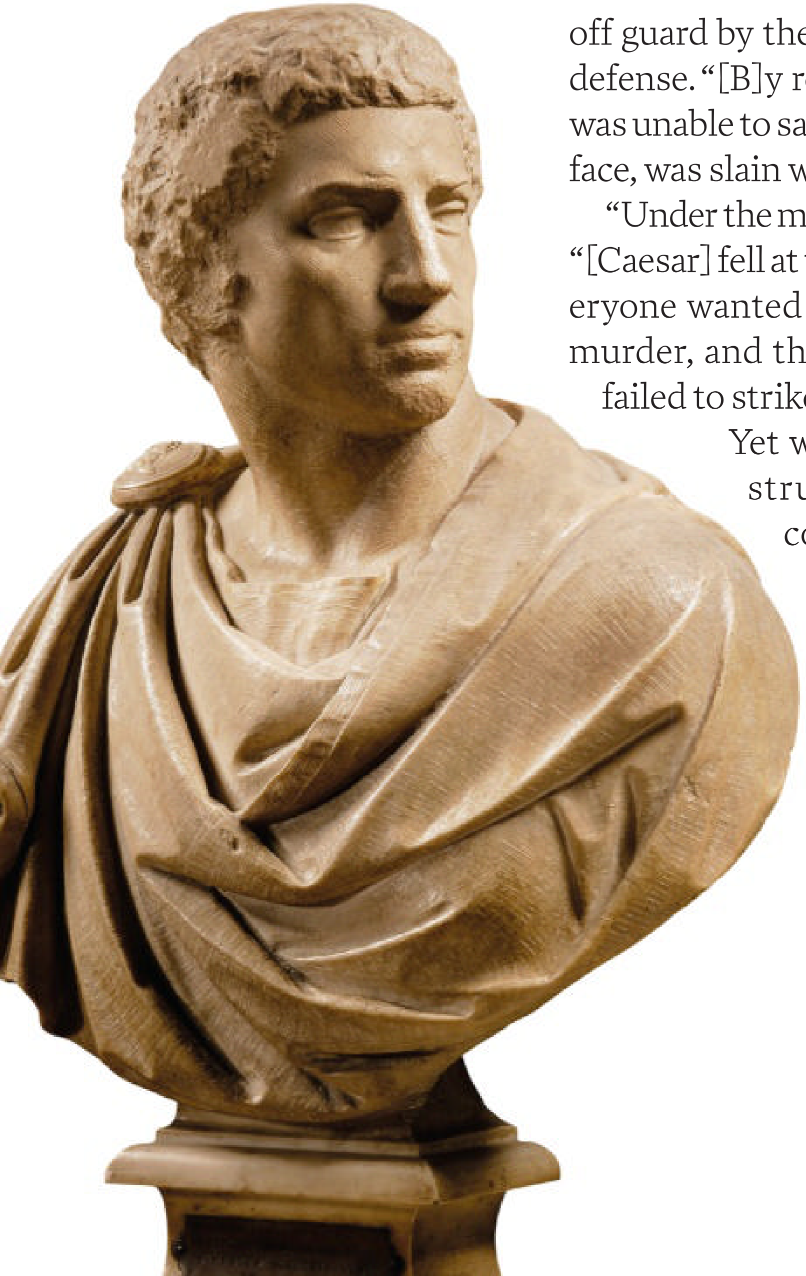
Yet when a forensics expert reconstructed the crime in 2003, he concluded that only five to ten assailants could have actually stabbed Caesar during the fray. It would have been impossible for more to have simultaneously attacked a single person given the logistics and the venue's dimensions—a space that led to friendly-fire casualties during the attack, with Cassius cutting Brutus's hand, and Minucius stabbing Rubrius in the thigh.

Caesar himself was stabbed 35 times, in Nicholas's telling; Appian, Plutarch, and Suetonius put the figure at 23. Suetonius describes how Antistius, a physician, examined the body (in

PUBLIC SPEAKING
Remains of the Rostra, a platform for public speakers, are still visible before the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman forum. Julius Caesar moved it here in 44 B.C.

GUNTER KIRSCH/ALAMY/ACI

> "Under the mass of wounds [Caesar] fell . . . Everyone wanted to seem to have a part in that murder."
> —Nicholas of Damascus, *The Life of Augustus*



MARCUS JUNIUS BRUTUS, CA 1539-1540 BUST, MICHELANGELO. BARGELLO NATIONAL MUSEUM, FLORENCE

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

one of the world's first recorded autopsies) and found that one wound alone had been fatal: "the second one in the breast"—a blow credited to Gaius Casca, in Nicholas's account.

Once Caesar was dead, Brutus walked to the center of the curia to speak, but no one stayed to listen. The remaining senators fled in terror, fearful that they would be pursued. At that moment it wasn't clear among the group who was a conspirator, and whether the attack would extend to any of Julius Caesar's supporters.

Plutarch describes the assassins' sense of elation as they too left the Senate house, "not like fugitives, but with glad faces and full of confidence." They hurried to broadcast to the people that Rome was rid of its tyrant. In the suddenly silent curia, only a bloody corpse remained.

Controlling The Message

TO WIN SUPPORT FOR THEIR PLOT, the conspirators played up stories of Caesar's arrogance and desire for power. Plutarch reports: "But the most open and deadly hatred towards [Caesar] was produced by his passion for the royal power. For the multitude this was a first cause of hatred, and for those who had long smothered their hate, a most specious pretext for it." The conspirators seized on this sentiment when they circulated allegations that Julius Caesar had disrespected the Senate: Caesar had been seated in the Forum when senators came before him to confer new honors, but Caesar did not stand to meet them, which was taken as a grave insult. According to Plutarch, Caesar realized his mistake and tried to blame his poor health, but few believed him, instead seeing his behavior as pure hubris.

PROTECTORS OF THE POWERFUL

A first-century A.D. statuette (above) depicts a lictor, an official bodyguard who would have attended Julius Caesar and other Roman officials.

ALAMY/ACI

Men and Motives

By the time Julius Caesar stepped in front of the Senate on that fateful day, the Roman Republic had been ailing for years. Economic inequality, political gridlock, and civil wars had weakened the nearly 500-year-old republic in the century prior to Caesar's rise.

Yet Caesar was enormously popular with the people of Rome—a successful military leader who defeated his ally turned adversary Pompey after a four-year-long civil war; subdued Egypt and allied with Cleopatra (their love child, Caesarian, aka Ptolemy Caesar, later ruled that country with his mother); and expanded the republic to include parts of modern-day Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, and France. He also passed laws (over the Senate's objection) that helped the poor and was a beloved author who wrote frequently about his travels, theories, and political philosophy.

Many members of the Senate—a group of appointed (not elected) political leaders that included the Optimates, a small elite conservative group of Caesar's enemies that had backed Pompey—resented Caesar's popularity and perceived arrogance.

As they saw it, Caesar's increasingly autocratic reign threatened the republic. He frequently bypassed the Senate on deciding important matters, controlled the treasury, and bought the personal loyalty of the army by pledging to give retiring soldiers public land as property. He stamped his image on coins, reserved the right to accept or reject election results for magistrate and other lower offices, and—perhaps worst of all—was rumored to be ready to declare himself king.

Rome had been stridently anti-monarchist since 509 B.C., when Lucius Tarquinius Superbus was overthrown, and prided itself greatly on its liberty. To be accused of coveting a throne was an egregious affront. Opponents worried that Caesar wanted to restore the monarchy, with himself in control. Though he had publicly refused a symbolic golden crown offered to him at the pastoral Lupercalia festival by his cousin and close ally Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony), his behavior seemed to corroborate this thinking. He had installed his friends in positions of power, placed his statues in temples, and reacted with fury when a diadem placed on one of them was removed. He also wore the high red boots of Italian kings and donned triumphal dress (symbolizing martial victory) whenever he liked.

Even his habit of granting clemency to opponents could be seen as a reflection of sovereign thinking: To show mercy, one had to be in a position to have power over someone else—one had to be a king.

Such was the situation in 44 B.C. After his stunning victories at the battles of Pharsalus, Thapsus, and Munda, between 48 and 45 B.C., Caesar had acted in a way that was largely unprecedented among the victors of civil wars: He let the losers live, because he hoped to join their power with his.

It was in this way that Brutus, who'd fought against Caesar under Pompey, and Cassius, who had commanded Pompey's fleet against Caesar at Pharsalus, were pardoned rather than executed. Caesar appointed both men to the position of praetor in 44 B.C.—a benevolence that riled many. They saw the dictator's clemency as both humiliating and arbitrary, running contrary to the principles of law—the mark of a tyrant.

Once Caesar became dictator-for-life—a magistracy that placed the maximum civil and military powers in his hands—the political career of every Roman rested with him. It was a bitter affront to the Optimates who had been pardoned by Caesar but now found themselves dependent on his whims.

These officials decided to strike the ultimate blow against his power. All of the assassins on the Ides of March belonged to Caesar's inner circle—enemies he had forgiven and friends he had promoted. What brought these "liberators" together was a fear that the concentration of absolute power in a single man threatened the republic's democratic institutions.

> **After his stunning victories at the battles of Pharsalus, Thapsus, and Munda, Caesar had acted in an unprecedented way among the victors of civil wars. He let the losers live.**

FINAL JOURNEY
Caesar's residence was on the Via Sacra— the main artery through Rome, which also passed through the Forum. Caesar would have been carried along this route to the Theater of Pompey on the Ides of March.

FRANCESCO IACOBELLI/AWL IMAGES

HIRED MUSCLE
Gladiators were popular in Rome and other cities, like Pompeii. Excavations of gladiator barracks there yielded weapons and helmets (above) dating to the first century B.C.

AKG/ALBUM

The Conspirators

At least 60 people, and perhaps more than 80, were involved in the plot against Caesar. The mastermind of the conspiracy was Cassius, who understood that he needed to collaborate with someone who would lend political gravitas to a future attack, raising it above the level of petty personal revenge. He chose his brother-in-law Marcus Junius Brutus, a respected Optimate. His family claimed to descend, by paternal line, from Lucius Junius Brutus, who was said to have founded the Roman Republic.

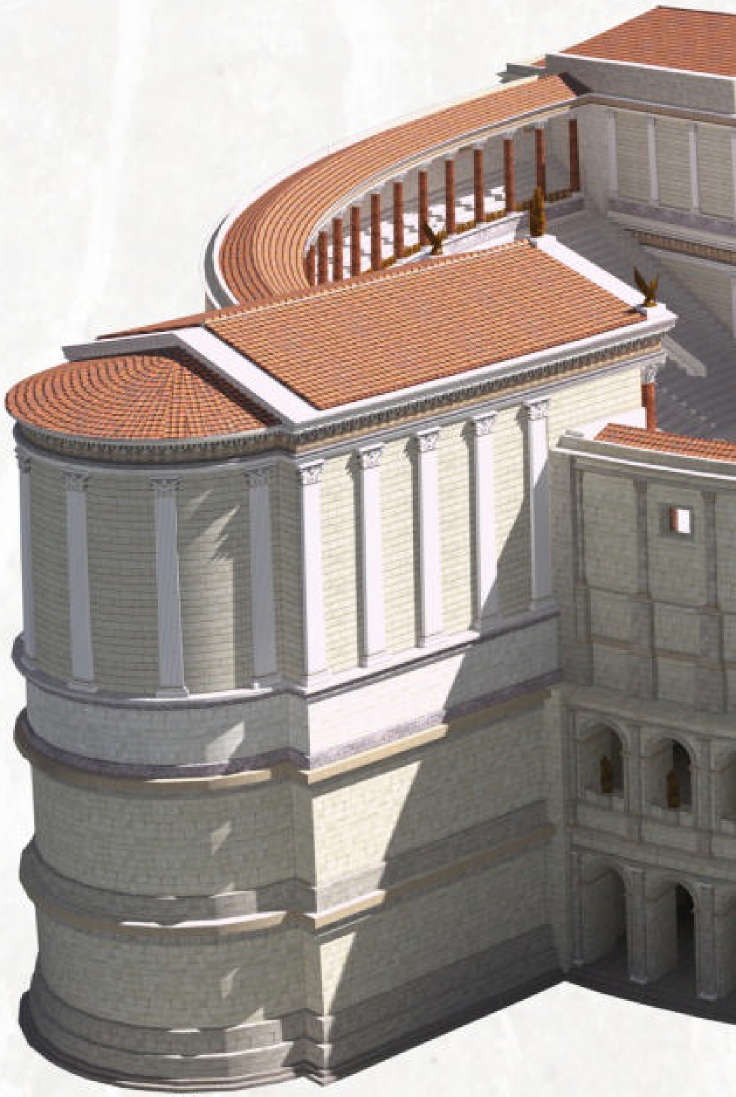
With Cassius planning in the background and Brutus acting as the figurehead, the alliance was forged. Among the latter group, two men stand out: Gaius Trebonius and Decimus Junius Brutus Albinus, both generals who had fought alongside Caesar in Gaul and the civil war. The latter was a distant cousin of Brutus and a close friend of Caesar.

Plutarch recounts that a year before, after Caesar's victory in Munda, Trebonius had sounded out Mark Antony about the possibility of joining an assassination. Nothing more is known of the plot except that Mark Antony declined to join it, yet he also failed to inform Caesar that a scheme was being hatched against him.

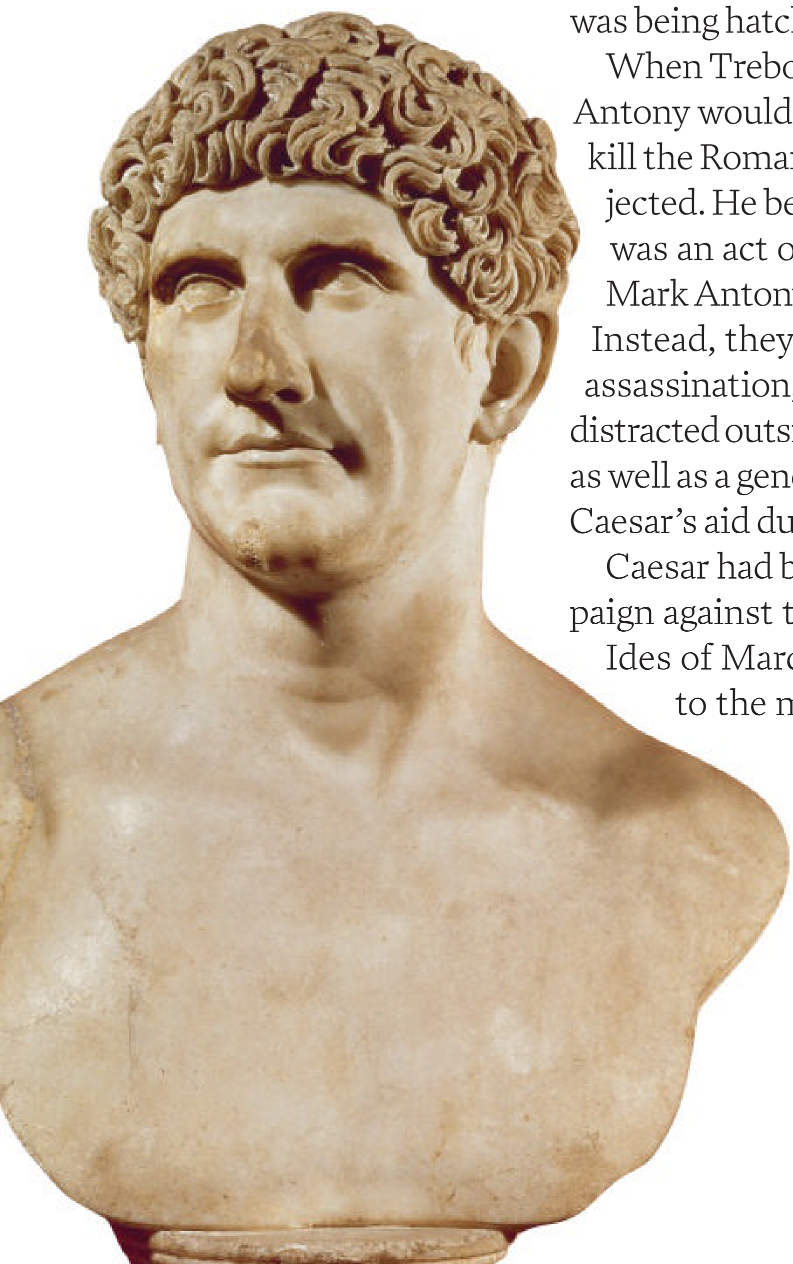
When Trebonius told the plotters that Mark Antony would not participate, they agitated to kill the Roman general as well, but Brutus objected. He believed that getting rid of Caesar was an act of universal justice, while killing Mark Antony would be seen as a partisan act. Instead, they decided that on the day of the assassination, they would keep Mark Antony distracted outside the Senate—he was a senator as well as a general—in case he tried to come to Caesar's aid during the attack.

Caesar had been due to leave for a long campaign against the Parthians two days after the Ides of March—"Ides" was the name given to the middle day of each month—but had summoned the Senate to meet once more before he left. According to Suetonius, it was rumored that at this meeting a proposal would be made to proclaim Caesar king of the non-Italian provinces, a proposal the conspirators did not want to approve. They also knew that once Caesar left Rome with his legions, he would be out of their reach.

According to Cicero—a senator at the time,



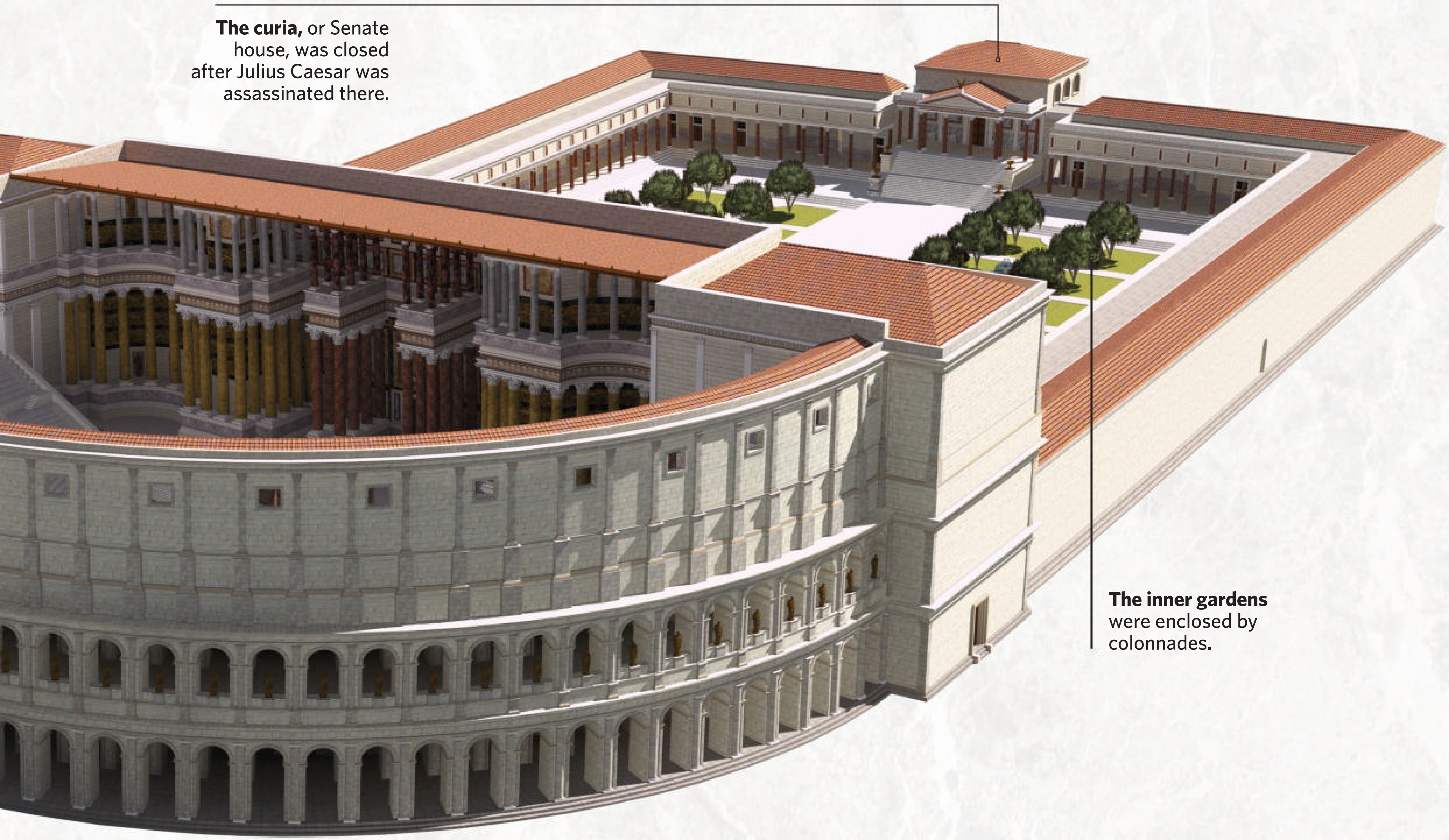
Temple dedicated to Venus Victrix, the protective goddess of Pompey



When the plotters learned that Mark Antony would not participate in the assassination of Caesar, they agitated to kill him as well, but Brutus objected.

MARK ANTONY, A.D. 69-96 BUST, VATICAN MUSEUMS, ROME

ORONOZ/ALBUM



The curia, or Senate house, was closed after Julius Caesar was assassinated there.

The inner gardens were enclosed by colonnades.

The theater, with room for up to 17,000 people, staged shows with wild beasts and gladiators.

THEATER OF POMPEY

Caesar's former ally commissioned this structure, which was completed in 55 B.C. A statue of Pompey the Great stood in the curia of the complex, where the Senate met on the Ides of March in 44 B.C.

ILLUSTRATION: VALOR-LLIMÓS ARQUITECTURA

and a very well-informed one—the Senate meeting had actually been called to finalize a decision as to who would replace Caesar as consul when he left Rome. That year, Caesar and Mark Antony were joint consuls; with Caesar gone, Mark Antony and the new appointee would constitute the highest authority in Rome.

In some ways, the stage was set for them. Though Caesar had heard rumors of assassination plots against him (some of which expressly mentioned Brutus), he had decided to ignore them in the belief that Brutus and others would never act against him out of fear that a new civil war might be unleashed if he were to die.

Caesar had also recently dismissed his official escort of bodyguards, after the senators vowed to protect him with their own lives in a pledge

Staging an Assassination

CASSIUS AND BRUTUS, who arrived at the curia before Caesar, made a show of carrying out their tasks as praetors. They went about their business safe in the knowledge that they would have crucial backup for the assassination attempt that was about to take place. Under the colonnade of the Theater of Pompey, a group of gladiators owned by Decimus, one of the conspirators, would be positioned to support them. Their role would be to help the assassins if they were discovered before they could strike and to protect them if the mob attacked once their work was done. Political leaders at the end of the republic had frequently employed gladiators as reinforcements in the city's frequent street battles. In addition, their presence would not have seemed out of the ordinary, as on March 15 gladiatorial games would have been held in the Theater of Pompey.

OMENS OF FORTUNE

In ancient Rome soothsayers derived omens from animal entrails or facsimiles, like this bronze sheep liver from 100 B.C. (above).

DEA/ALBUM

of political loyalty. Yet he would be far from unprotected on the Ides. Twenty-four lictors—in charge of safeguarding the magistrates—walked before him wherever he went. He was also accompanied around the city by friends and stalwart followers—some seeking favors, others just a glimpse of the great man.

After considering several options, the conspirators decided to make their move during the Senate session, where Caesar's entourage would be reduced (only senators could attend) and the emperor would be unarmed (weapons were forbidden inside the Senate, so the conspirators had to carry theirs carefully concealed).

Dreams and Omens

On the night of March 14-15, Caesar's wife of 15 years, Calpurnia, had vivid nightmares in which she saw her husband covered in blood. The next morning she begged him not to go to the Senate.

The emperor claimed not to be superstitious, but he was disturbed by his wife's visions—and by his own dreams that night of rising above the clouds, leaving Rome at his feet, trembling as Jupiter took him by the hand—so in the morning he took her dream seriously. He ordered several animal sacrifices to discern the future.

All the omens were unfavorable. A month earlier, a soothsayer, or haruspex, named Spurinna had warned Caesar of the peril before him. On February 15, writes Suetonius, Spurinna had "read" sacrificed animal entrails to mean that Caesar faced "danger, which would not come later than the Ides of March."

On top of everything else, Caesar was physically ailing. According to Nicholas of Damascus, Caesar's physicians tried to stop him from going to the Senate that day "on account of vertigoes to which he was sometimes subject, and from which he was at that time suffering." (The long-held theory is that Caesar had epilepsy. It is also possible he suffered a mini stroke.) As the Ides dawned, Caesar felt exhausted and nauseated. According to Suetonius, he decided to stay home and send Mark Antony to the Senate to dissolve the session.

Yet at that critical moment, Decimus Junius Brutus Albinus appeared and convinced his "friend" Caesar to go to the Senate as planned, telling the dictator he would appear ridiculous if he changed his plans because of his wife's dream. If the dictator felt genuinely ill, he could avoid offending the senators by showing up briefly at the Senate and then postponing the session.

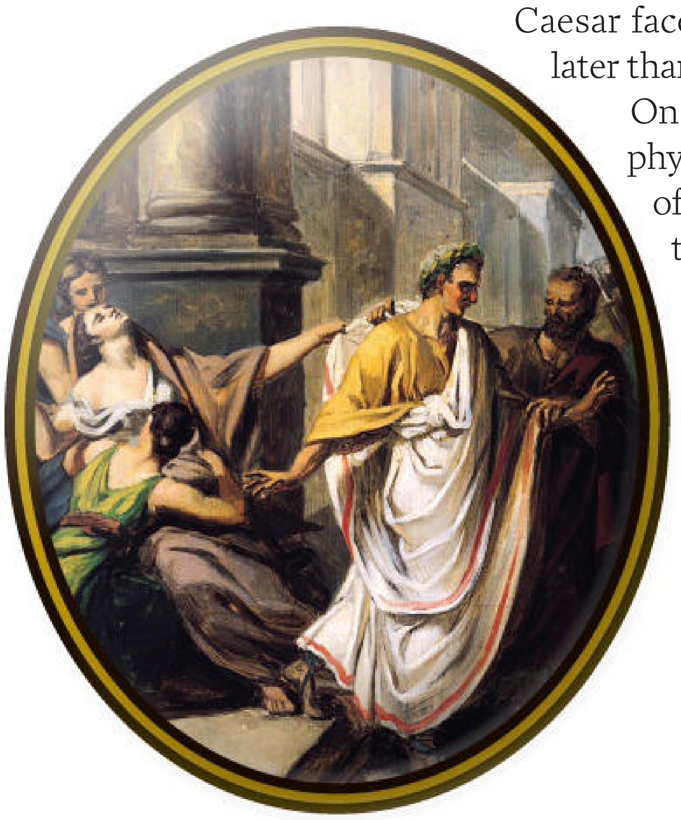
Decimus Brutus's reasoning worked, and Caesar left his house at 11 a.m. in a litter borne by four slaves, preceded by the lictors. Caesar was headed for the Theater of Pompey, a huge complex built by his rival on the outskirts of Rome. Within it was the curia (Senate house), where the meeting would take place.

On the way, a crowd surrounded the litter and overwhelmed Caesar with petitions. Amid the noise, Caesar overlooked a note that someone handed him warning him of the plot. It may have been proffered by Artemidorus of Damascus, a Greek teacher from Brutus's circle. According to Nicholas of Damascus, the note was found near Caesar's corpse among the other papers.

Plutarch wrote "[the conspirators] all hastened to the portico of Pompey and waited there, expecting that Caesar would straightway come to the meeting." Since it was forbidden to carry arms in the Senate, Brutus's dagger was hidden under his robe. Other senators concealed their weapons in the document boxes that young slaves, called *capsarii*, had brought into the compound.

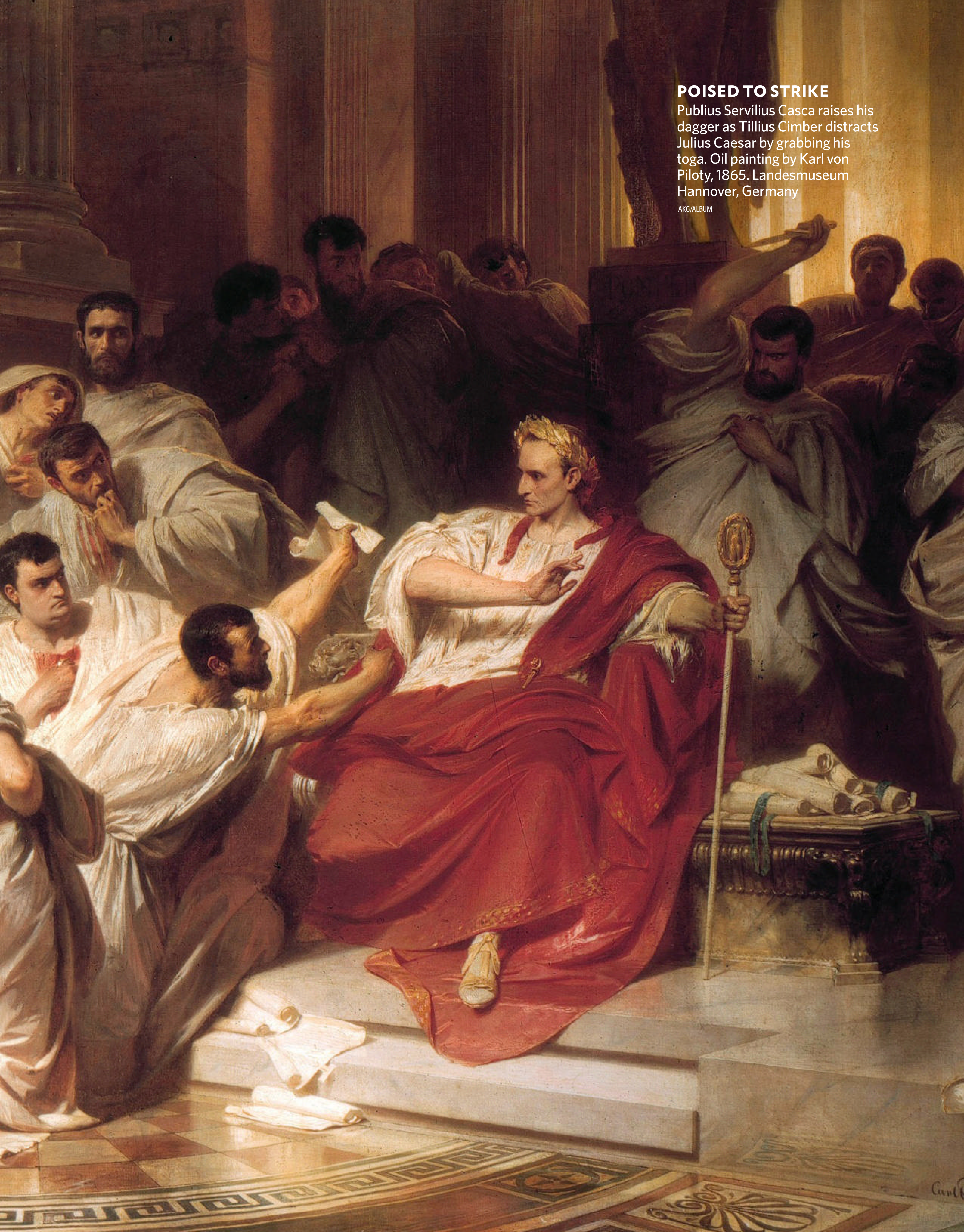
Caesar arrived. As he walked through the door, the senators rose. The chamber was not much bigger than a modern tennis court, and at least 200 men had to be present to comprise the quorum. There was little room to maneuver.

Caesar's wife, Calpurnia, had vivid nightmares in which she saw her husband covered in blood. The next morning she begged him not to go to the Senate.



"CALPURNIA'S DESPAIR," 19TH-CENTURY OIL PAINTING, ABEL DE PUJOL

BRIDGEMAN/ACI



POISED TO STRIKE
Publius Servilius Casca raises his dagger as Tillius Cimber distracts Julius Caesar by grabbing his toga. Oil painting by Karl von Piloty, 1865. Landesmuseum Hannover, Germany

AKG/ALBUM

SHARP AND SHORT

The daggers that slew Caesar were compact blades and ideal for hand-to-hand fighting, like the one found in a gladiators' barracks in Pompeii (above).

SCALA, FLORENCE

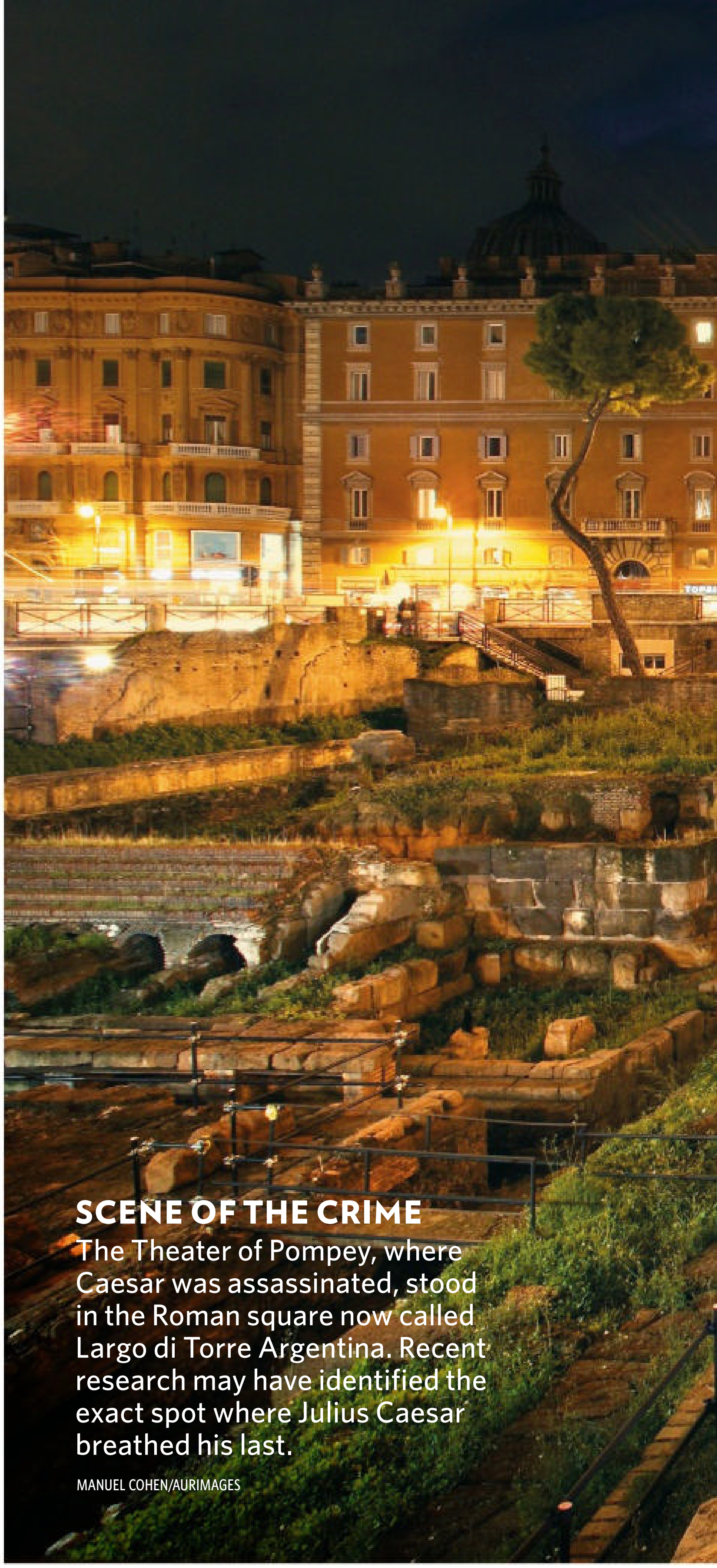
The Attack

Not all the conspirators were members of the Senate, and it's not clear how many of the standing senators wished to see Caesar dead. In front of their seats rose the platform from which Caesar would preside over the session from a golden throne. The conspirators hurried to gather around the throne.

As soon as Caesar was seated—and while the rest of the senators were still standing as a show of respect—the assassins, writes Plutarch, "surrounded him in a body, putting forward Tillius Cimber of their number with a plea on behalf of his brother, who was in exile. The others all joined in his pleas, and clasping Caesar's hand, kissed his breast and his head."

At first Caesar brushed off the requests. But when the senators would not let him go, he tried to get up by force. It was then that Tillius, who may have been kneeling before Caesar, grasped his toga at the shoulders in a gesture of supplication. This prevented Caesar from standing up and left his neck exposed. According to Suetonius, Caesar then shouted, "Why, this is violence!"

Appian says Tillius then shouted, "What are you waiting for?": The answer, of course, was nothing. The rest, as they say, was history.



SCENE OF THE CRIME

The Theater of Pompey, where Caesar was assassinated, stood in the Roman square now called Largo di Torre Argentina. Recent research may have identified the exact spot where Julius Caesar breathed his last.

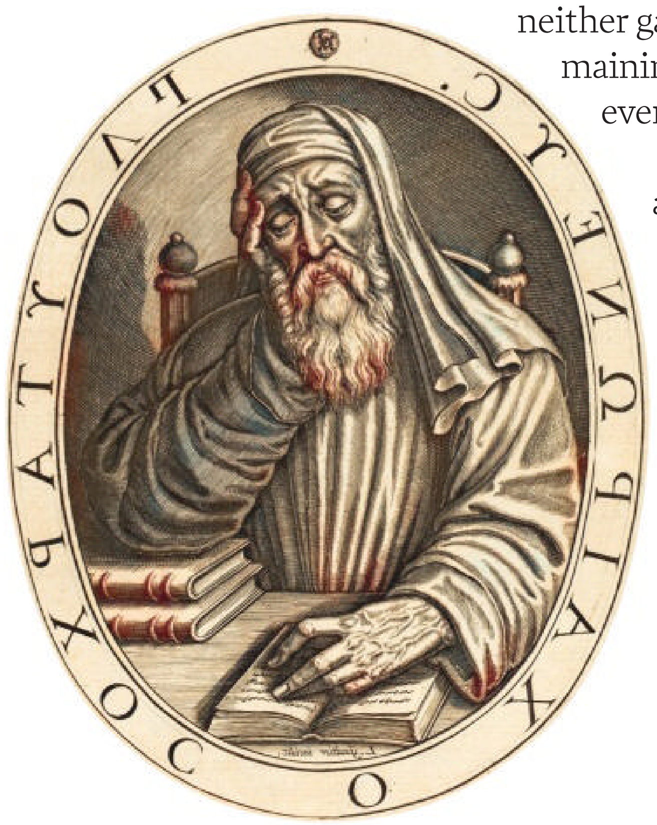
MANUEL COHEN/AURIMAGES

Aftermath

After Caesar's death, Mark Antony staged a grand funeral for Caesar. The dictator's popularity was such that a riot developed, leading to Caesar's impromptu cremation in the Forum. Some of the assassins, including Brutus and Cassius, took this as a cue to leave Rome, though neither gave up their official positions. The remaining assassins put a positive spin on the events, celebrating it as an end to tyranny. An amnesty was negotiated—through a Senate agreement to ratify all of Caesar's decisions. A new coin was minted, showing two daggers and the *pileus*, the cap of liberty worn by freed Roman slaves, with the date shown as the Ides of March. It was a celebration of liberty, according to historian Mary Beard, that resonated in Rome much like Bastille Day does in modern France.

Ultimately, the death of Julius Caesar had the opposite impact of what the assassins had hoped. The daggers they thrust into him that March day dealt a fatal blow to the already wounded Roman Republic and paved the way

> "[O]f the power . . . [Caesar] had sought all his life . . . he had reaped no fruit but the name of it only."
> —Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*



PLUTARCH, 16TH-17TH CENTURY ENGRAVING

GIBON ART/ALAMY/ACI

for empire. Much of the public turned against the assassins, and civil wars ensued. Popular sentiment swung back toward Caesar. A comet, visible during the day for a week, appeared in the sky during the games held in his honor—a sure sign that he was becoming divine. Within two years, in fact, he would be fully deified.

Caesar's death opened the way for his 19-year-old heir, and adoptive son, Octavian to emerge as Rome's first de facto emperor (the future Augustus). Octavian would spend the next few years hunting down Caesar's murderers: the ringleaders Brutus and Cassius fell in 42 B.C., and the last one would perish eight years later. ■

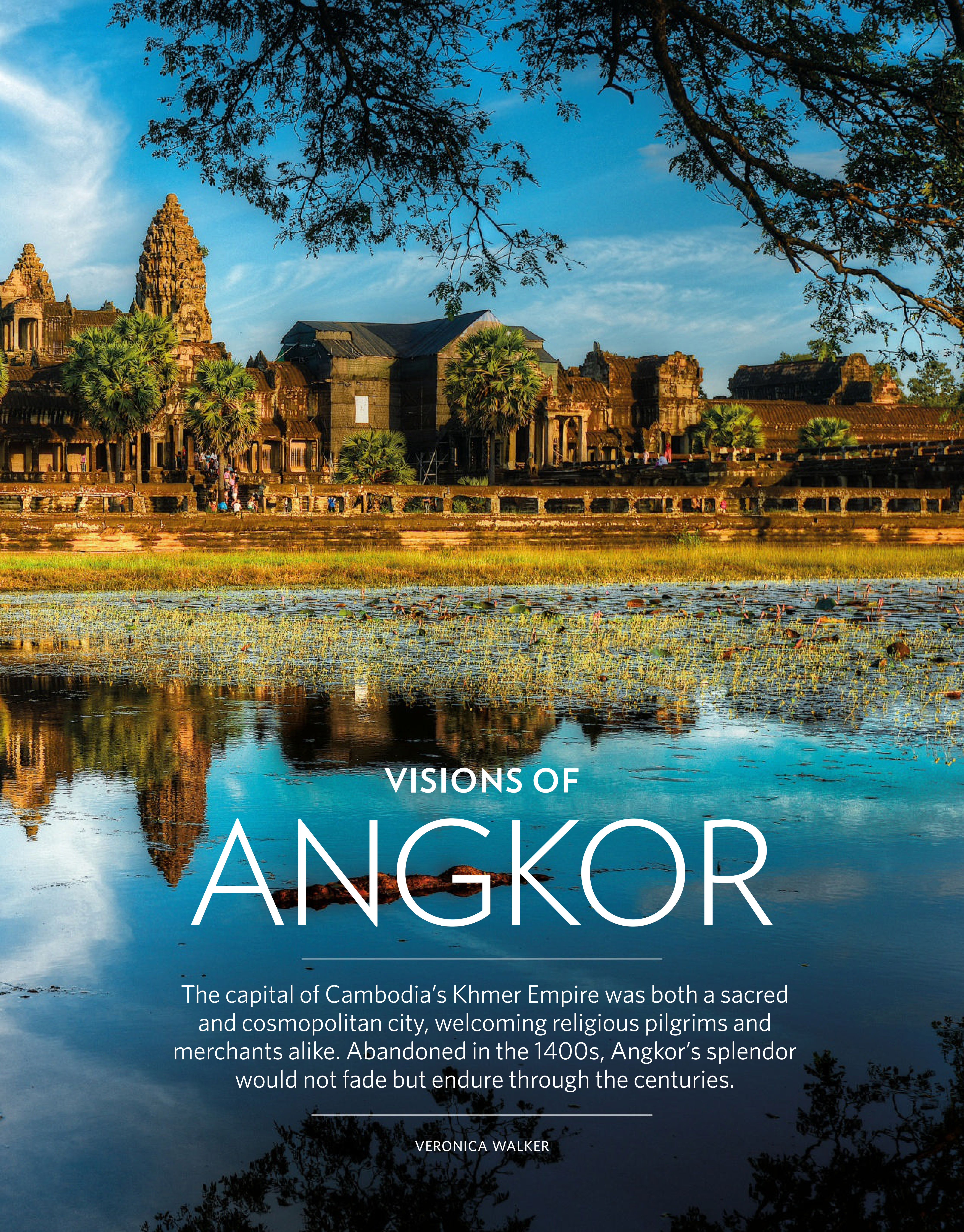
HISTORIAN **JOSEP MARIA CASALS** IS A SPECIALIST ON THE HISTORY OF EARLY IMPERIAL ROME.

Blood at Pompey's Feet

IN SOME ANCIENT SOURCES, Caesar's death appears framed as a sacrifice. The second-century A.D. historian Florus interprets the manifold honors pinned on Caesar during his lifetime as *infulae,* the woolen adornments placed on animals destined for ritual sacrifice. Caesar is depicted as meeting his destiny like those animals, with a certain meekness. Plutarch seems to interpret the event as divine retribution: "[Caesar] sank, either by chance or because pushed there by his murderers, against the pedestal on which the statue of Pompey stood. And the pedestal was drenched with his blood, so that one might have thought that Pompey himself was presiding over this vengeance upon his enemy, who now lay prostrate at his feet, quivering from a multitude of wounds."

HEAVENLY TOWERS The Angkor Wat temple was erected in the 12th century by Khmer king Suryavarman II to replicate Hinduism's holy Mount Meru.

ASHIT DESAI/GETTY IMAGES



VISIONS OF ANGKOR

The capital of Cambodia's Khmer Empire was both a sacred and cosmopolitan city, welcoming religious pilgrims and merchants alike. Abandoned in the 1400s, Angkor's splendor would not fade but endure through the centuries.

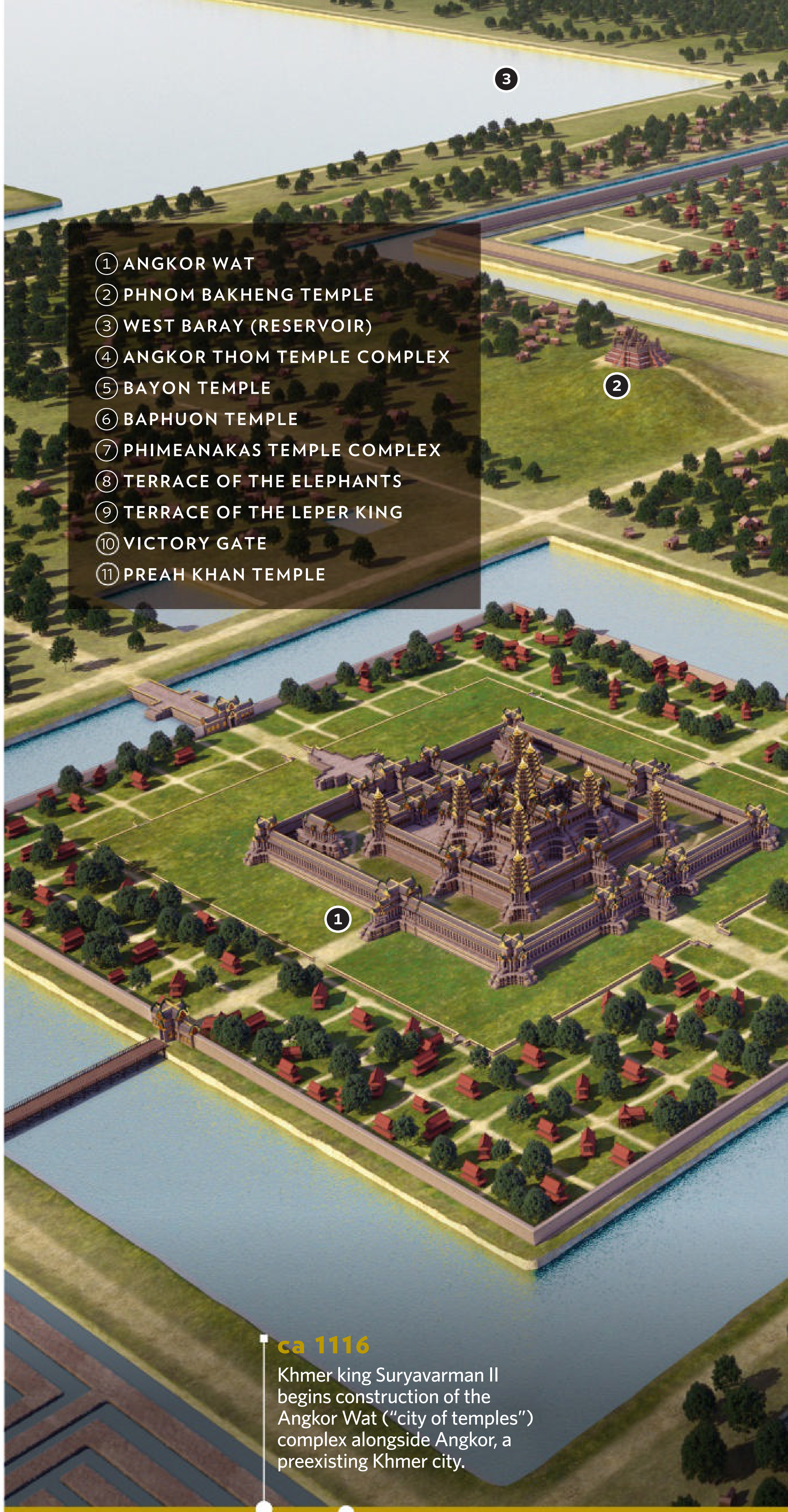
VERONICA WALKER

Appearing like a fever dream amid a thick, humid jungle is Angkor Wat—a soaring, sumptuous city of stone with elegant spires and elevated towers, covered galleries and airy courtyards, ornate walkways and intricate bas-relief carvings. Situated on the shores of Tonle Sap, a lake in northwest Cambodia, this temple complex is a nearly 900-year-old ruin from the ancient Khmer Empire. Among the hundreds of surviving temples in the region, the vast complex is easily Cambodia's most famous sacred site—it appears on the nation's current flag—and is revered for good reason. Comprising over a thousand buildings and covering some 400 acres, it is the world's largest religious structure—and one of humanity's cultural wonders.

Construction of Angkor Wat began in the first half of the 12th century by the Khmer king Suryavarman II (reigned A.D. 1113-circa 1150). It was probably intended to serve as his vast funerary temple where his remains would rest for eternity. Heavily influenced by Hinduism, the site, whose name means "city of temples" in Khmer, was originally called Vrah Visnuloka ("sacred dwelling of Vishnu") and dedicated to three Hindu deities: the namesake Vishnu, Shiva, and Brahma. Hindu deities are recognizable among the complex's many bas-relief carvings.

The structure's most prominent architectural feature is its central quincunx—five conically shaped towers (four in the corners, one in the middle) built on graduated tiers. Rows of lotuses taper to a point near the top, symbolizing the peaks of Mount Meru, the dwelling place of the gods and center of the universe. Indeed, Angkor Wat was conceived as an earthly model of the cosmos—a miniature replica of the universe in stone, with its central tower rising nearly 200 feet in the air. The outer wall corresponds to the mountains at the edge of the world; the surrounding three-mile-long moat symbolizes the oceans beyond them.

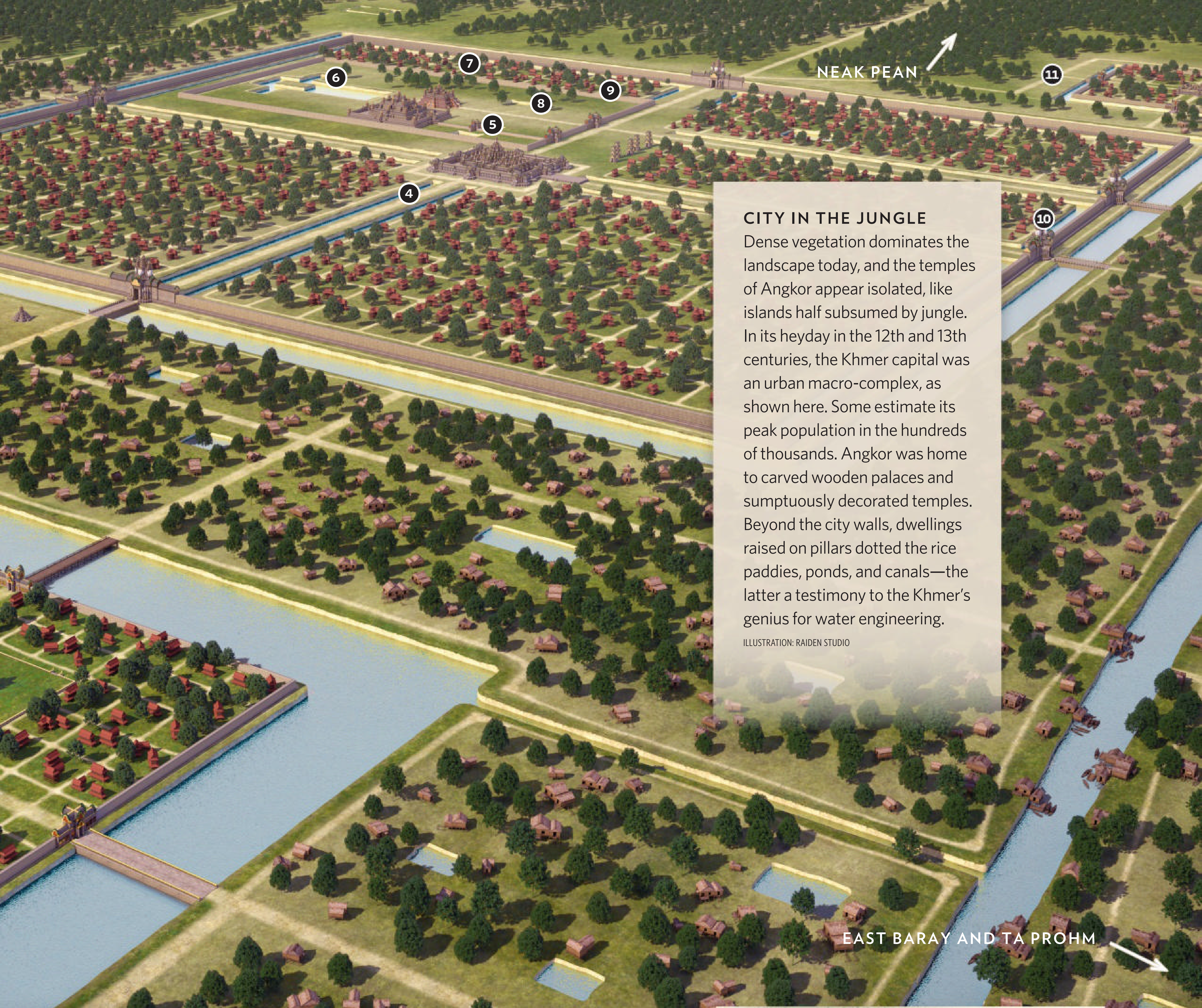
One accesses the site by crossing a 617-foot bridge and then passing through three galleries on the way to the temple itself. The inner walls are covered with bas-relief sculptures representing Hindu gods and ancient Khmer scenes, as well as episodes from two Sanskrit epics: the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*.



ca 1116
Khmer king Suryavarman II begins construction of the Angkor Wat ("city of temples") complex alongside Angkor, a preexisting Khmer city.

CAPITALS AND KINGS

1177
The neighboring Cham (in present-day Vietnam) invade and plunder Angkor Wat, causing great instability throughout the empire.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7
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NEAK PEAN
11
10
EAST BARAY AND TA PROHM

CITY IN THE JUNGLE

Dense vegetation dominates the landscape today, and the temples of Angkor appear isolated, like islands half subsumed by jungle. In its heyday in the 12th and 13th centuries, the Khmer capital was an urban macro-complex, as shown here. Some estimate its peak population in the hundreds of thousands. Angkor was home to carved wooden palaces and sumptuously decorated temples. Beyond the city walls, dwellings raised on pillars dotted the rice paddies, ponds, and canals—the latter a testimony to the Khmer's genius for water engineering.

ILLUSTRATION: RAIDEN STUDIO

1181

King Jayavarman VII is crowned after he expels Cham forces from Cambodia. The empire will reach the peak of its splendor under his reign.

ca 1200

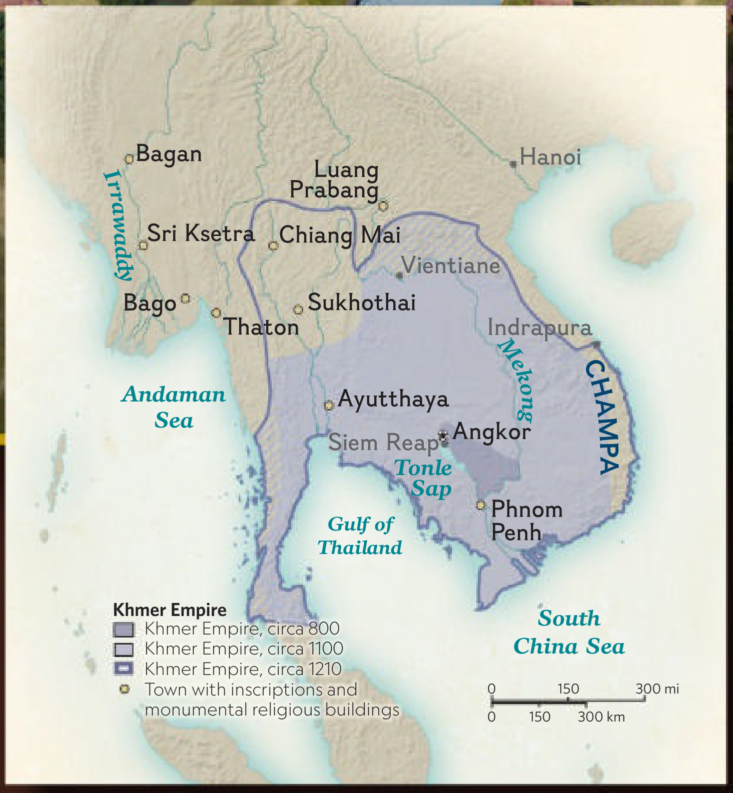
Jayavarman VII builds Angkor Thom north of Angkor Wat. The city centers on the Buddhist Bayon temple, reflecting a shift away from Hinduism.

14th-15th centuries

Severe monsoons and floods damage the irrigation infrastructure of the complex. Despite depopulation, Angkor Wat will still function as a temple.

ca 1431

The neighboring kingdom of Ayutthaya attacks the Khmer. The capital moves south to Phnom Penh, triggering the decline of Angkor as a political center.


Bagan
Irrawaddy
Luang Prabang
Hanoi
Sri Ksetra
Chiang Mai
Vientiane
Bago
Thaton
Sukhothai
Indrapura
Mekong
CHAMPA
Andaman Sea
Ayutthaya
Siem Reap
Angkor
Tonle Sap
Gulf of Thailand
Phnom Penh
South China Sea
Khmer Empire
Khmer Empire, circa 800
Khmer Empire, circa 1100
Khmer Empire, circa 1210
Town with inscriptions and monumental religious buildings
0 150 300 mi
0 150 300 km

NG MAPS

Power of the Khmer

The Khmer flourished from the ninth to the 15th centuries, its rulers presiding over a sprawling, prosperous, and sophisticated empire that stretched across much of mainland Southeast Asia, from modern-day Myanmar (Burma) to Vietnam. It was linked by a network of river routes and elevated roads. Agricultural production thrived during this period, perhaps thanks to the higher temperatures and nourishing rains during the so-called Medieval Warm Period.

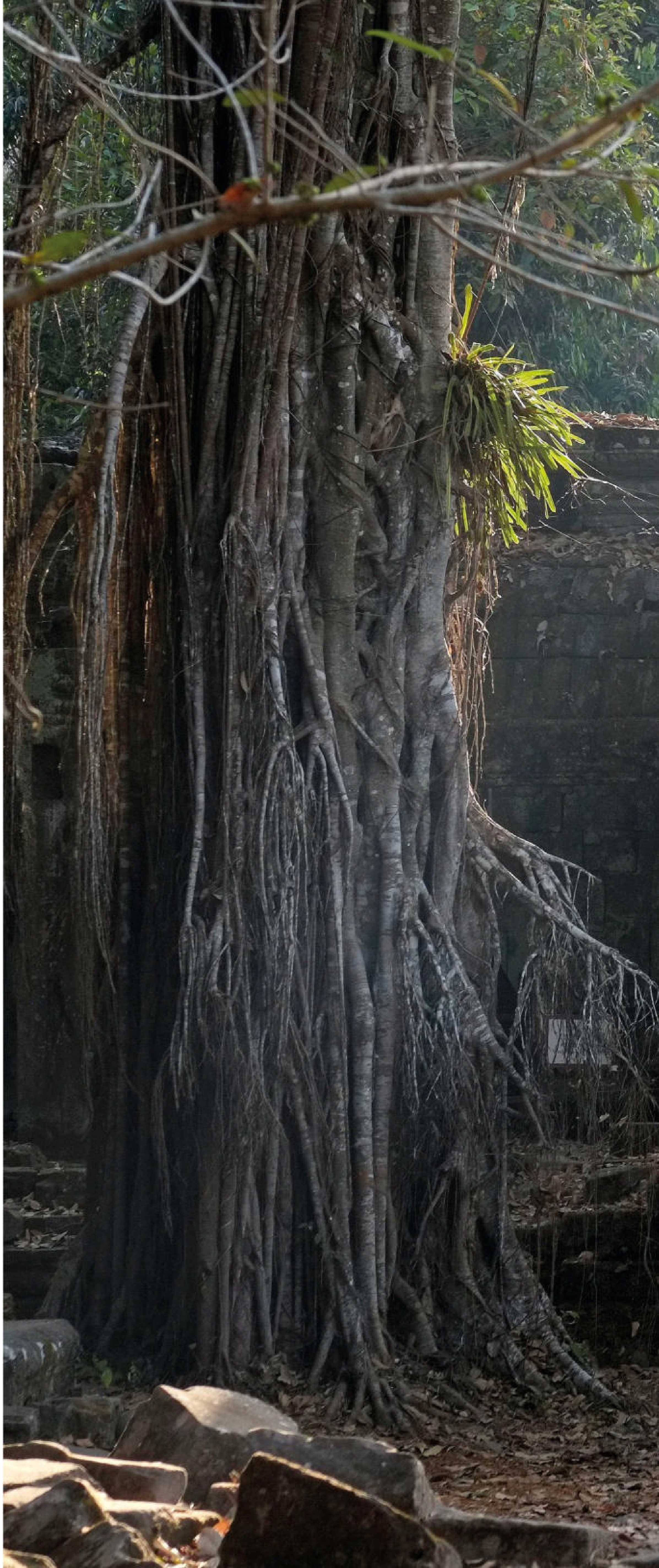
The Angkor Wat temple complex was built alongside the ancient Khmer capital Angkor, the focus of elaborate building projects since the dawn of the empire (including the ninth-century Phnom Bakheng temple that overlooks Angkor Wat to this day). In the 12th century, as work advanced on Angkor Wat under Suryavarman II, a religious shift from Hinduism toward Buddhism was intensifying across the Khmer lands.

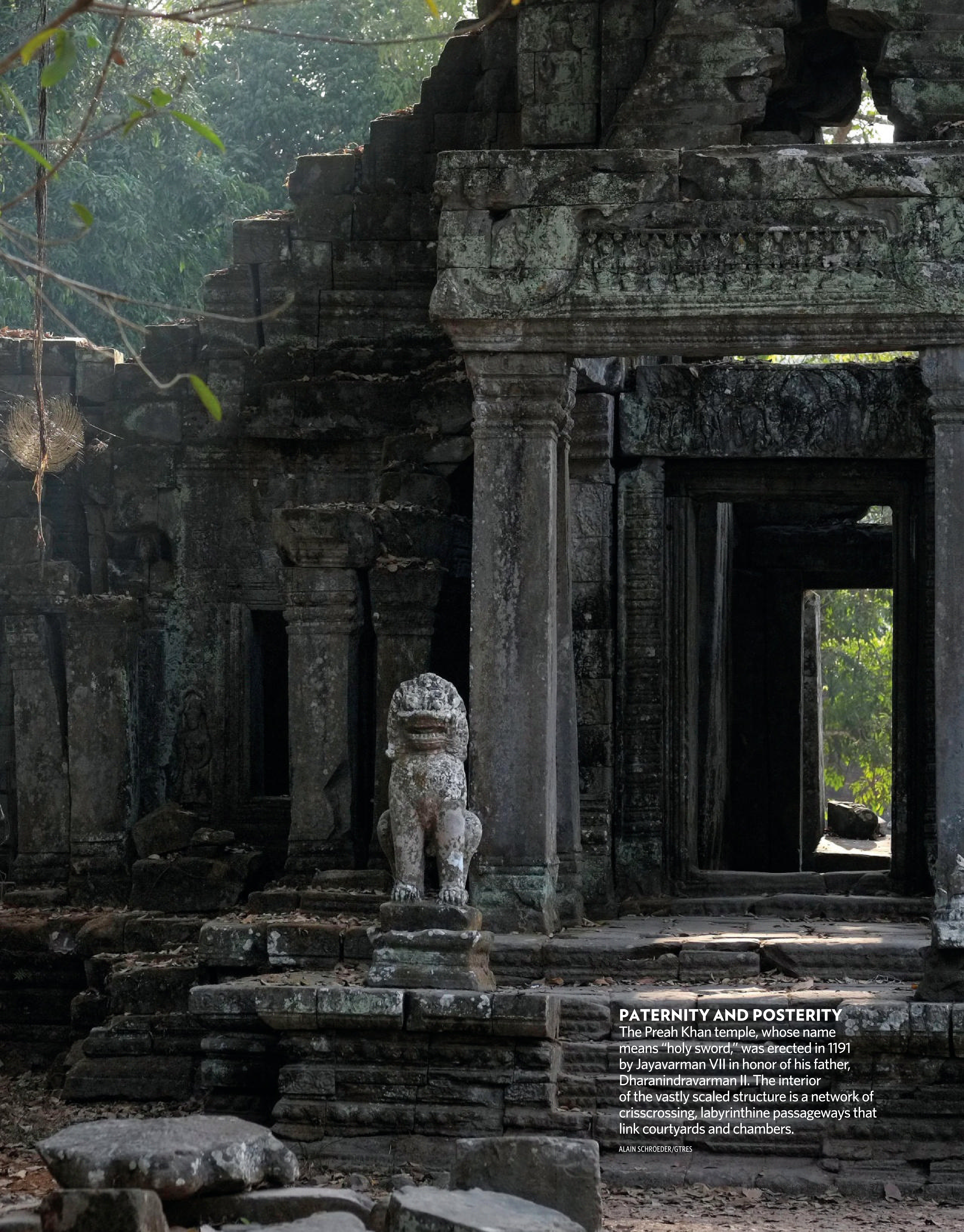
Buddhism had coexisted peacefully with Hinduism for many years. It was first brought to Cambodia around the fifth century, carried by traders and missionaries from India, a culture that exerted a significant influence on Cambodian history: India had already brought Hinduism to the region, and the Khmer language is related to Sanskrit.

Some 30 years after Suryavarman II's death, King Jayavarman VII came to the throne in 1181. He revived Khmer fortunes after the kingdom was invaded by the neighboring Cham, and he solidified the status of Buddhism by making it the state religion. Jayavarman VII's face is believed to have been the model for the many visages that decorate the Bayon temple in nearby Angkor Thom. Built alongside Angkor Wat, this new fortified Khmer capital marked a new high in Khmer power. The city's population swelled to a then-record 750,000.

Angkor Wat continued to be a Hindu temple until the 1300s, when it was formally rededicated as a Buddhist site. In keeping with Buddhist tolerance for Hinduism, the iconography of its great reliefs was not demolished or replaced, although Buddhist statues were added.

Around this time, the Khmer Empire started to decline, the result of a complex mixture of factors. In the 1430s the Khmer rulers abandoned the great complexes of Angkor and relocated to the newly established Phnom Penh to the south.





PATERNITY AND POSTERITY
The Preah Khan temple, whose name means "holy sword," was erected in 1191 by Jayavarman VII in honor of his father, Dharanindravarman II. The interior of the vastly scaled structure is a network of crisscrossing, labyrinthine passageways that link courtyards and chambers.

ALAIN SCHROEDER/GTRES

Historians have put forward various theories to explain the move. An important factor was likely the military setbacks suffered at the hands of the neighboring Siamese kingdom of Ayutthaya (in present-day Thailand), which mounted numerous attacks over the years. Others credit shifting religious observances. The growing predominance of Theravada Buddhism during the 13th and 14th centuries did not sit easily with the more hierarchical Hinduism of the Khmer elites.

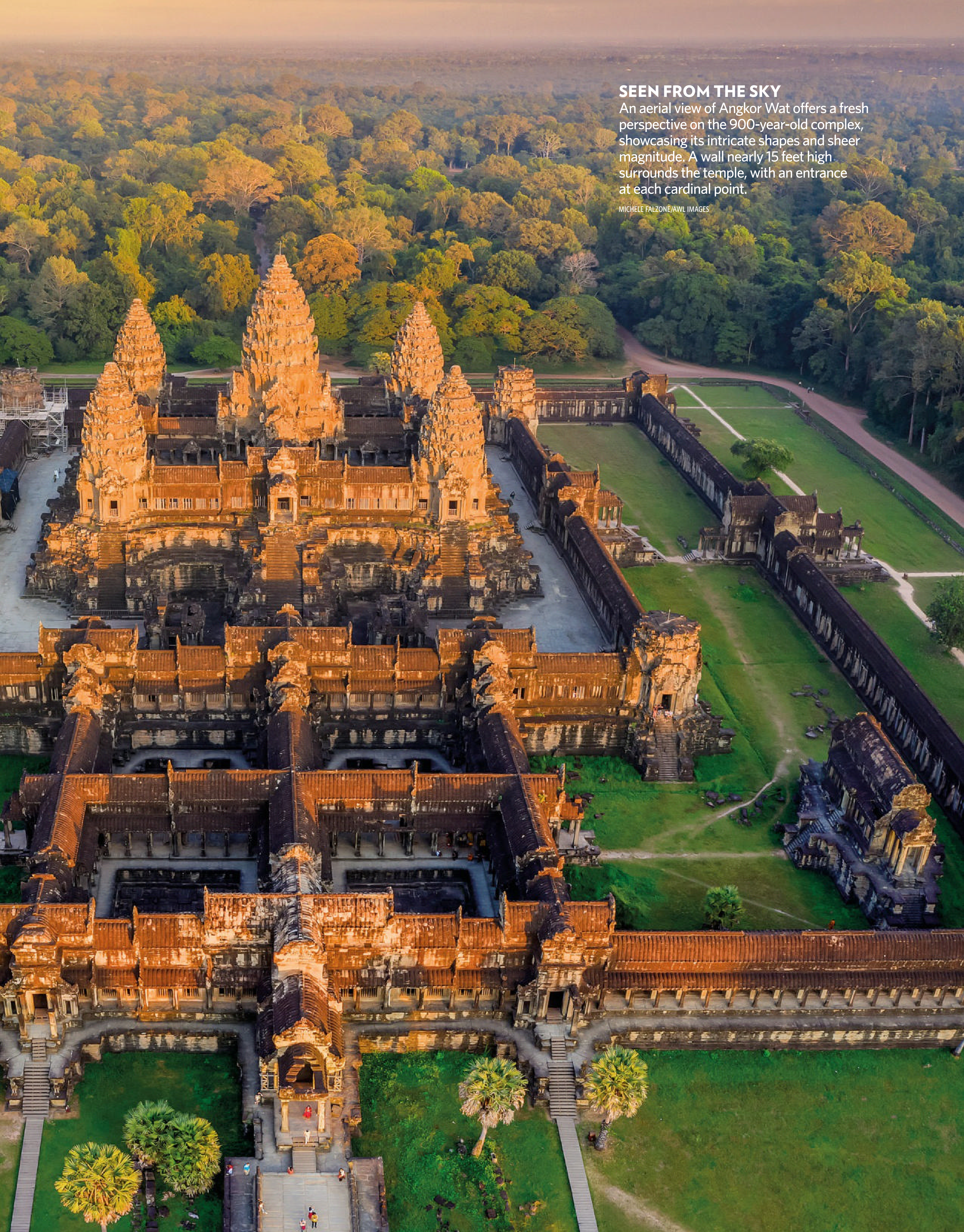
Environment also likely played a role: Angkor boasted an extensive, advanced system of artificial canals, dikes, and reservoirs, the largest of which, West Baray, is 5 miles long and 1.5 miles wide—a remarkable feat of hydraulic engineering for the time. The water harnessed by this network slaked the thirst of three-quarters-of-a-million residents in the world's largest preindustrial city, as well as irrigating the rice fields. Historians believe a series of heavy monsoons, followed by drought, may have disabled the delicate irrigation infrastructure and so hastened the demise of the site.

'Lost' and Found

The jungle reclaimed the area, and the urban area was soon subsumed by dense vegetation. Vast cotton silk trees grew up through the fallen towers, their silvery roots entwining pillars and walls, until jungle and ruin became indivisible. But one temple was never abandoned: Angkor Wat itself. Between the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th, the complex was restructured, transformed by Buddhist monks into a site for pilgrimages.

In the middle of the 16th century, Europeans began to arrive in Angkor—first Portuguese merchants around 1555, then missionaries bent on spreading Catholicism in the region. The Portuguese merchant and historian Diogo do Couto described how the Cambodian jungle was concealing an abandoned city whose walls "are entirely built with hewn stone, so perfect and so well arranged that they seem to constitute just one stone—which is . . . almost like marble."

After the Portuguese came Spanish merchants and missionaries. Among them was Fray Gabriel Quiroga de San Antonio, who, in 1604 published *A Brief and Truthful Relation of Events in the Kingdom of Cambodia*. His description reveals a deep appreciation and respect:



SEEN FROM THE SKY
An aerial view of Angkor Wat offers a fresh perspective on the 900-year-old complex, showcasing its intricate shapes and sheer magnitude. A wall nearly 15 feet high surrounds the temple, with an entrance at each cardinal point.

MICHELE FALZONE/AWL IMAGES

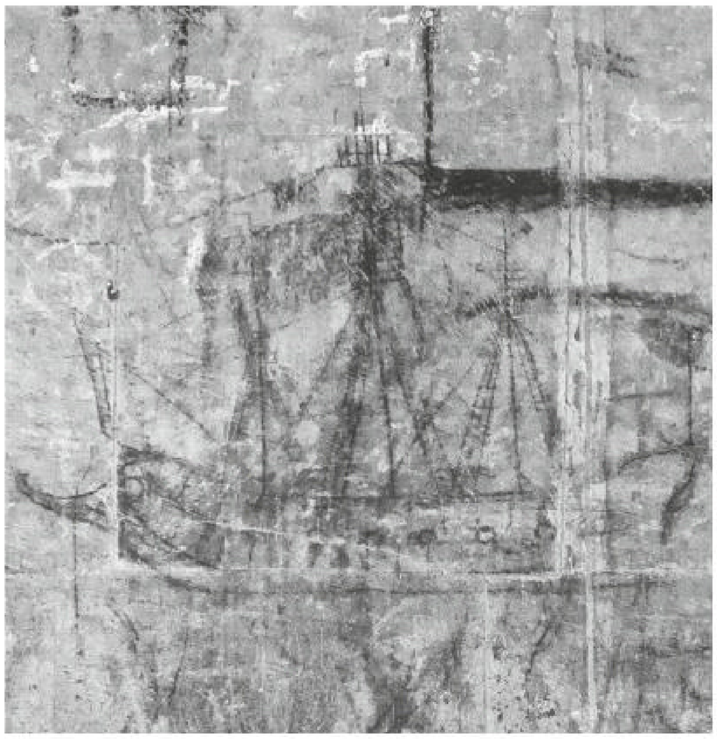
> *This city is on the banks of the River Meccon, 170 leagues from the sea; the floodwaters and tides of the river lap the city as those of the Guadalquivir do Seville. It is marvelously constructed . . . the houses are made of stone and are very beautiful, arranged in a very orderly way along streets, and the craftsmanship of their facades and patios, halls and chambers seems Roman.*

Lure of Angkor

Over the next few centuries, Angkor exerted a magnetic pull on travelers from abroad, as Cambodia received numerous merchants from Southeast Asia, especially Muslim Malays, and Japanese Buddhists. Some even left graffiti on the walls of Angkor Wat (there are 14 examples dated between 1612 and 1632). The first known map of Angkor, an annotated colored plan, was created by one of these Japanese visitors.

The Spanish and Portuguese presence diminished, and the Dutch established a post of the Dutch East India Company in Cambodia. Whether representatives visited Angkor itself is unknown, but the discovery of a Dutch ship painted on the walls of the main entrance to the Angkor temple attests to the impact on local life.

The European fascination with Angkor reached a fever pitch in the 19th century. In late 1859 the French explorer and naturalist Henri Mouhot visited Angkor under the patronage



GRAFFITI. A 17TH-CENTURY DRAWING OF A DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY SHIP WAS FOUND ON THE WALL OF THE MAIN ENTRANCE TO ANGKOR WAT

V. WALKER

FIRST GLIMPSES

In one of the first images taken of the Cambodian site, a Buddhist monk was photographed in 1866 beneath one of the faces that adorn the Bayon temple at Angkor Thom.

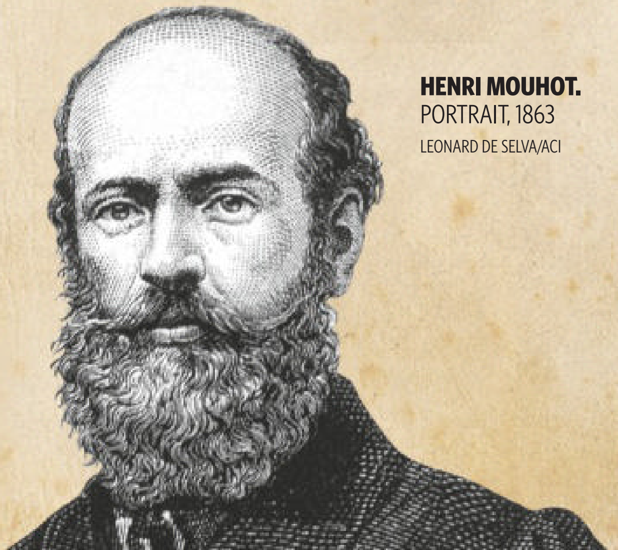
MNAAG/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

SIX MEMBERS OF THE MEKONG EXPEDITION (1866-1868). GUIMET MUSEUM, PARIS

MNAAG/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

EXPLORERS AND PHOTOGRAPHERS

In 1866 Ernest Doudart de Lagrée led an expedition on the Mekong River. Under the pretext of scientific and cartographic research, his team sought to consolidate French dominance of the area. Following in the footsteps of Henri Mouhot, Doudart made his way to Angkor, taking with him photographer Émile Gsell, who took some of the first photographs of the ancient Cambodian capital.



HENRI MOUHOT.
PORTRAIT, 1863
LEONARD DE SELVA/ACI

of the Royal Geographical Society of London. Mouhot had set sail for Bangkok in April 1858, accompanied by his dog Tine-tine, to gather plant and animal specimens from the region for European collectors.

Mouhot spent three months in Angkor, exploring the ruins, sketching its temples, and recording his impressions in his diaries—not only of Angkor itself, but of the Khmer people as well:

> *In the province still bearing the name of Ongkor . . . ruins of such grandeur . . . at the first view, one is filled with profound admiration, and cannot but ask what has become of this powerful race, so civilized, so enlightened, the authors of these gigantic works?*

This intimate vision of Angkor, accompanied by Mouhot's evocative drawings, was published in 1864 and drew European attention to the ancient Cambodian capital. In 1867 a French expedition arrived in the area, ostensibly to chart the course of the Mekong River. One of the members was a promising young artist named Louis Delaporte. His idealized illustrations of Angkor—included in two publications produced by the expedition—helped cement the popularity of the temples in the Western mind. Reproductions of Cambodian art were exhibited at the popular World Exhibitions between 1867 and 1922. At the 1931 Paris Colonial Exhibition, a spectacular replica of the Angkor Wat temple was erected.

The restoration of the temples, which began in 1907, opened the latest chapter in Angkor's long story. Since then, the complex called Angkor Archaeological Park has become one of the richest, most important archaeological sites in the world. In 1992 it was established as a UNESCO World Heritage site for its cultural influence. Today Angkor Wat is also essential to Cambodia's economic prosperity, as it continues to be one of the nation's biggest attractions. Even in the 21st century, it's hard not to see the value of an epic 12th-century vision of eternity. ■

SPECIALIZING IN ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE HISTORY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA, **VERONICA WALKER** IS A POSTDOCTORAL RESEARCHER AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI, FINLAND.

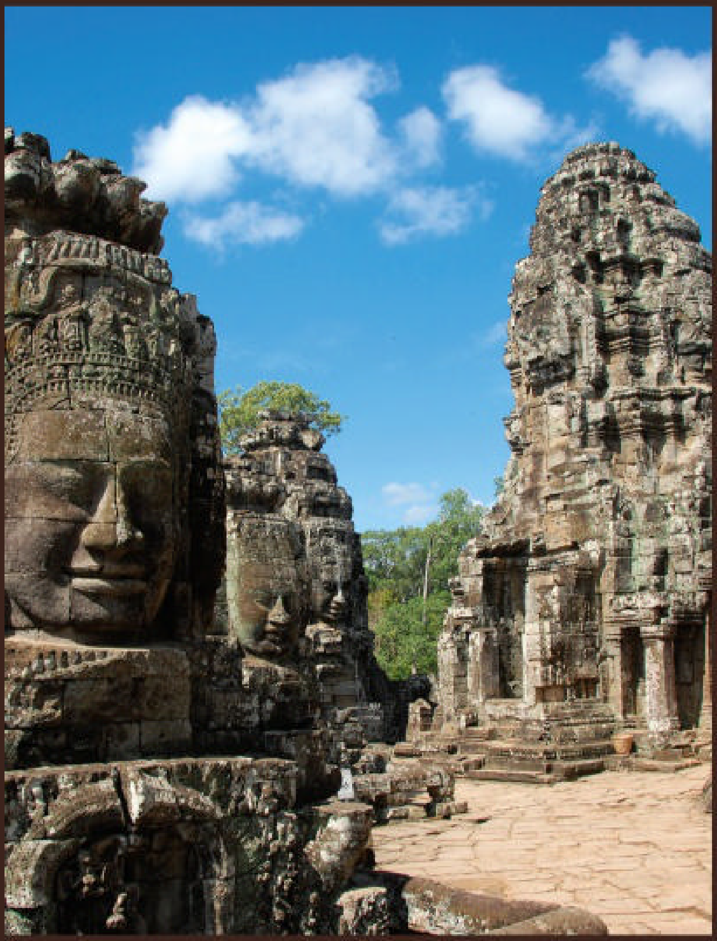
Learn more

***Angkor and the Khmer Civilization,* 2nd Edition**
Michael D. Coe, Thames & Hudson, 2018.

DEVAS AND ASURAS

Grimacing *asuras* (demons) line one side of the approach to the South Gate of Angkor Thom. Opposite them is a row of *devas,* benvevolent Hindu deities. Both the devas and asuras are perched on the back of a serpent, called a *naga.*

TIM LAMAN/NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

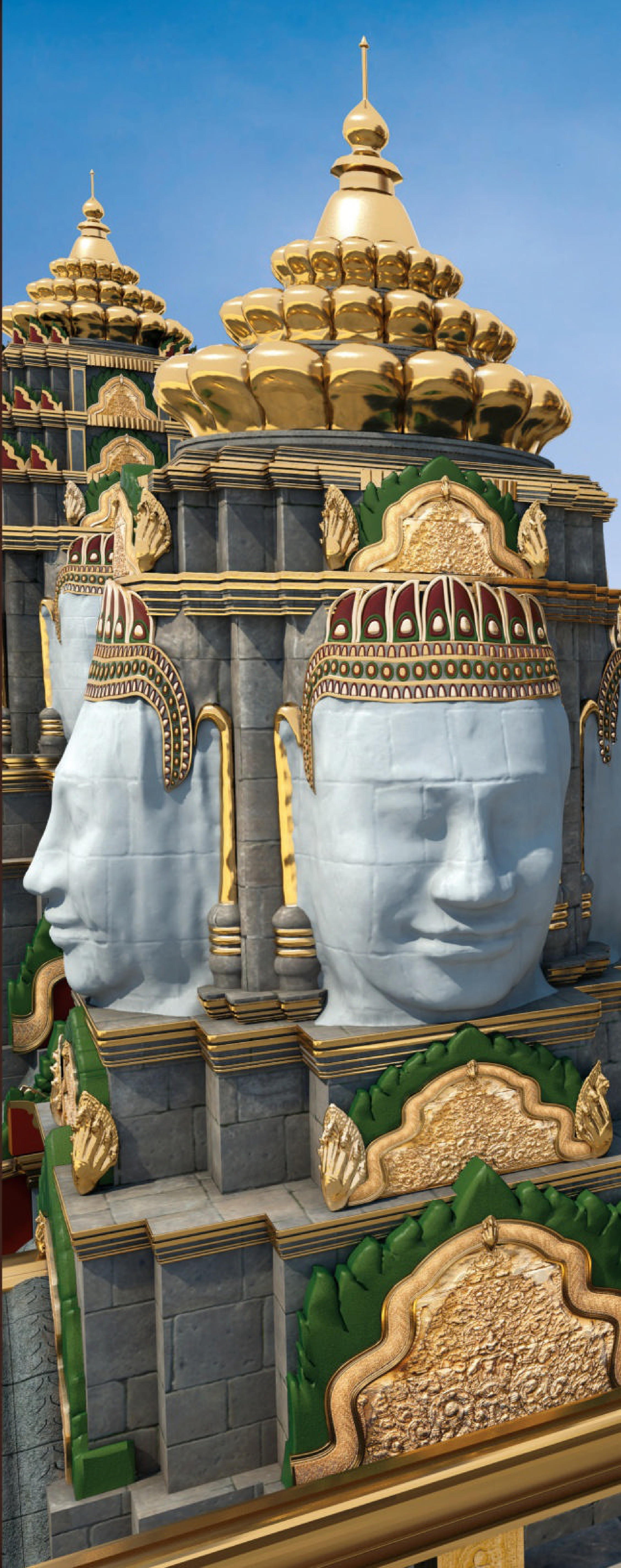


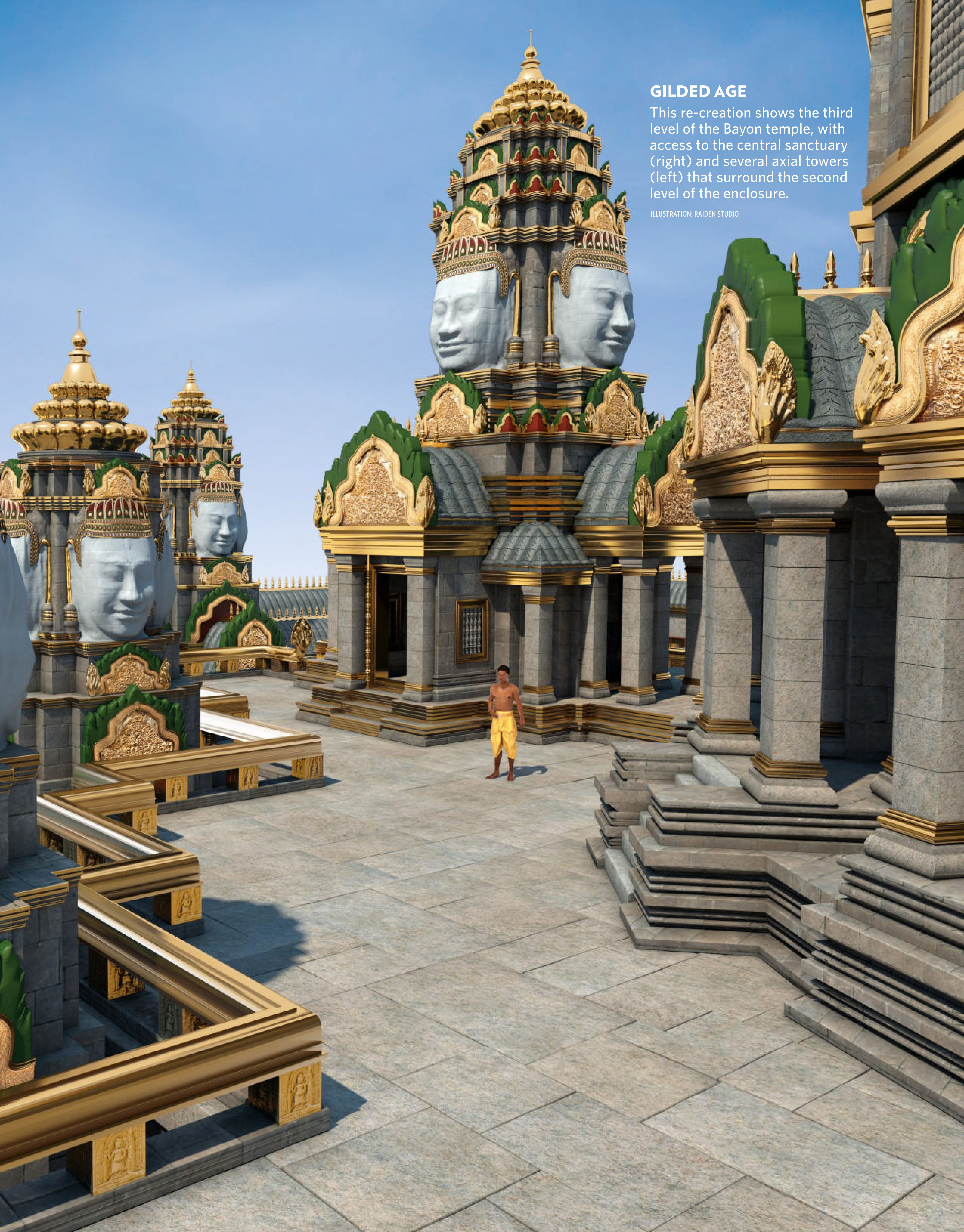
KOSEL SALTO/ GETTY IMAGES

GOLDEN COMPLEX

BUILT AROUND THE YEAR 1200, the Bayon temple in Angkor Thom comprises a central tower a hundred feet high with 54 other towers distributed throughout the enclosure—a stone forest in the midst of the jungle. King Jayavarman VII, commissioned the temple be built in the center of Angkor Thom, his new city to the north of Angkor Wat. Scholars used to think that the faces adorning the towers represented various aspects of Brahma, the Hindu god and creator of the universe. Today it's believed that they represent the bodhisattva (Buddha-to-be) Avalokiteshvara. King Jayavarman's likeness appears to have been used as the model.

CHINESE DIPLOMAT Zhou Da-guan, who visited the area in 1296, described towers covered in gold; outer galleries beautifully decorated with rows of eight gold figures of the Buddha; and a golden bridge, flanked by two statues of golden lions, which served as the main entrance to the enclosure. Today (above) no trace of the gold coating or the gold statues remains, but in its heyday, the site must have been breathtaking, as the artistic reconstruction (right) shows.





GILDED AGE

This re-creation shows the third level of the Bayon temple, with access to the central sanctuary (right) and several axial towers (left) that surround the second level of the enclosure.

ILLUSTRATION: RAIDEN STUDIO

FULL METAL JACKET

A knight's plate armor consisted of riveted sections, which offered greater freedom of movement than rigid armor. It was widely used in 14th-century combat. Opposite: The arms of Edward III of England, the warrior king whose reign was marked by the culture of chivalry

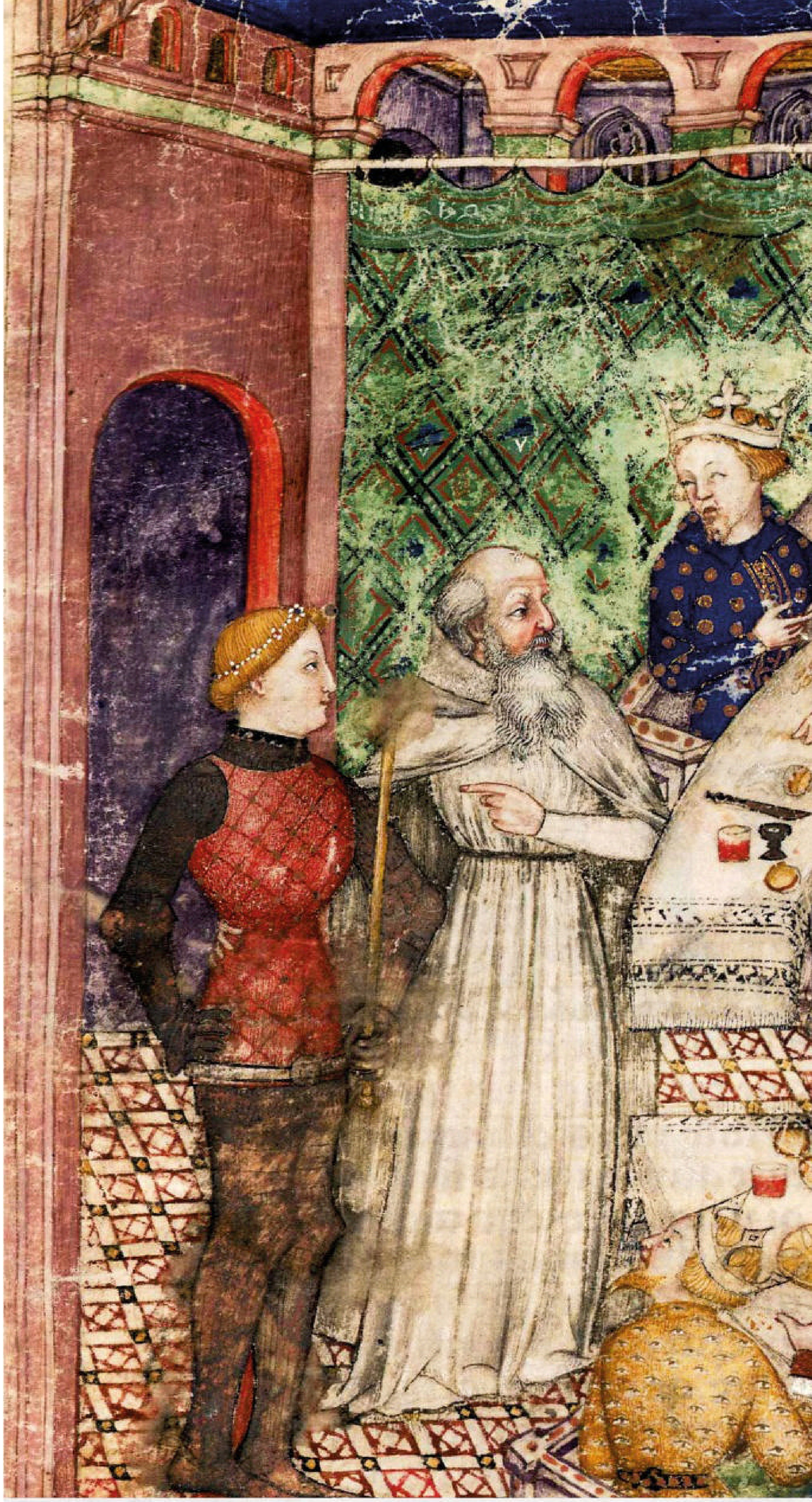
WARPEDGALERIE/ALAMY/ACI; OPPOSITE: LOOK AND LEARN/BRIDGEMAN/ACI

BLOOD AND HONOR

THE KNIGHTS' TALES

Chivalry, faith, and honor were embodied by the lives of medieval knights, who fought for church and crown. The lives of these men are filled with accounts of legendary bravery and bloodshed.

ALBERTO RECHE



ARTHURIAN KNIGHTS

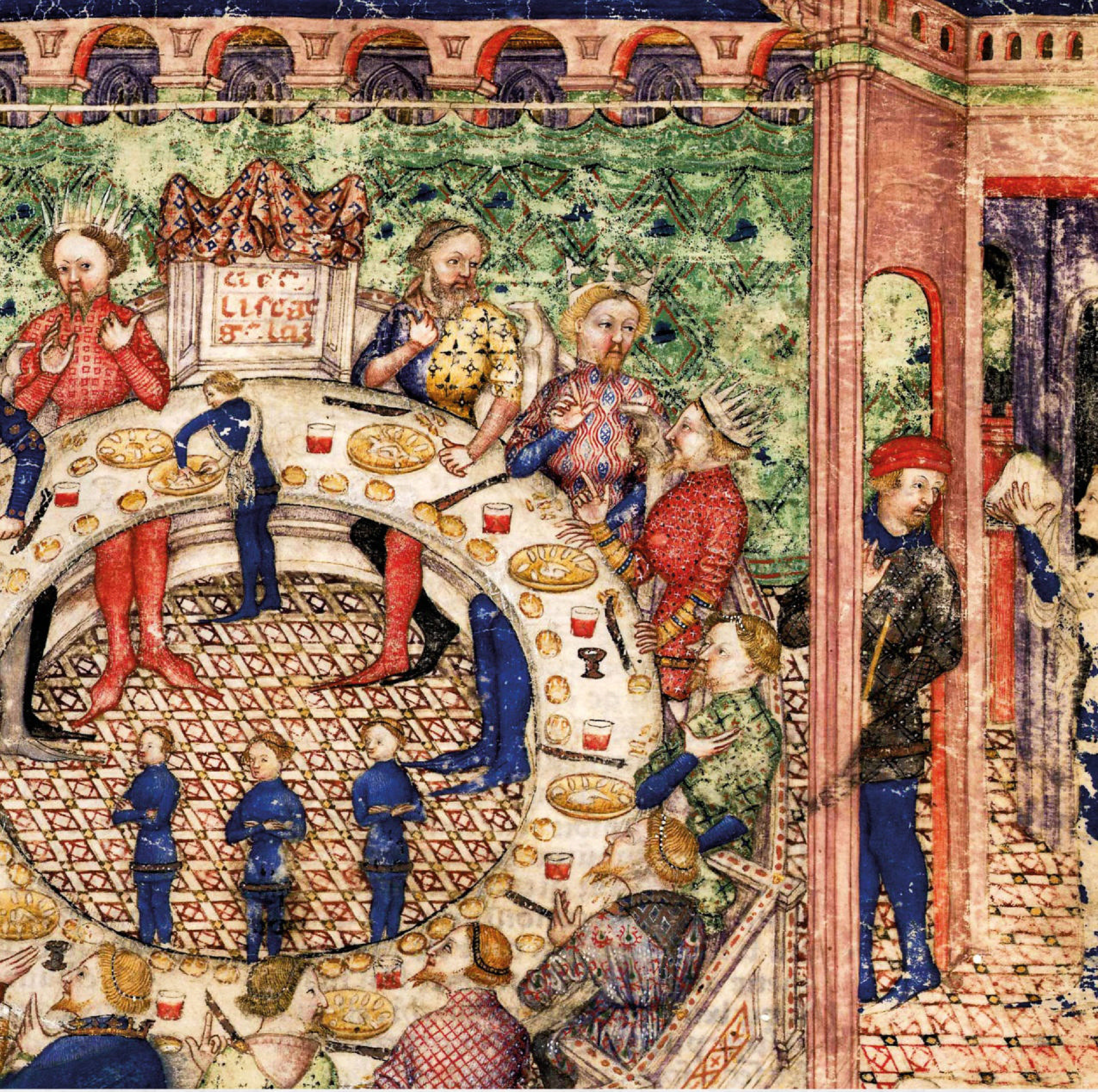
SEATS AT THE ROUND TABLE

Knights are among the most iconic characters from the Middle Ages. Their origins harken back to the fall of the Roman Empire in western Europe whose last emperor, Romulus Augustulus, was toppled by a Germanic warlord in A.D. 476. The vacuum left by Rome's destruction was partially filled by the Roman Catholic Church, and also by relationships between the church and the dominant local lords. The church supported the lords, in part by anointing kings and lords as God's chosen rulers, but also controlled them through fear of cutting off God's approval through interdict and excommunication. The alliances between the papacy and the king of the Franks lasted 500 years. Over time, this was replicated across Europe and both led to and supported the rise of feudalism, a system dependent on knights to support the realm and the church, and a way for society to recruit them.

The feudal system was based on a complex web of rights and obligations among rulers, nobles, serfs, peasants, and freemen. With little or no commerce, land and its produce were the only forms of wealth and, with it, power. Each feudal lord held sway over his land grant and its people. Over time, feudalism was built on the uniformity that had been previously imposed by the Roman Empire. Due to a preexisting warrior culture, knights became exalted superstars. They were the product of long training in both military skills and spiritual and societal matters.

What bound knights together as a social group was a detailed code of values, behavior, and accomplishments, including courtesy, refinement, honesty, largesse, and gallantry. Becoming a knight certainly meant developing skills of combat and the use of arms, but it also entailed hunting, learning to read, and playing games like chess. Knightly ideals can be grouped into three strands: noble birth, Christian values, and military prowess. Literature about knights, such as those of the legendary King Arthur and his court,

> Becoming a knight meant not only developing combat skills but also hunting, learning to read, and playing games like chess.



The Knights of the Round Table were heroes of the realm in Britain's Arthurian legend. Dedicated to ensuring peace in the mythical kingdom of Camelot (hard won by Arthur after early wars), the knights represented chivalry in its purest form. These nobles pledged to follow a code of honor in service to God, king, and country. According to various origin stories, the Round Table was created by the magician Merlin, in imitation of the table at Christ's Last Supper, for Uther Pendragon, Arthur's father. A seat at the table was the highest honor to which an Arthurian knight could aspire. The table's circular shape precluded hierarchy and was a potent symbol of fraternity and esprit de corps.

IN CAMELOT
A young Sir Galahad is presented to King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table in a 14th-century miniature. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

FINE ART/ALBUM

became popular and would have a profound influence on the origins of the European novel. The importance of chivalric culture in storytelling persists today through its extensive use in fantasy fiction and fandom, gaming, animation, television shows, and movies.

One way to truly understand the nature of knighthood in this period is to meet some of the knights themselves, whether historical figures like Richard the Lionheart, or literary ones. In fact, the line between historical record and literary invention is often blurred. Literary models influenced the behavior of real knights, while real knights offered abundant material for writers of literary accounts.

Godfrey of Bouillon

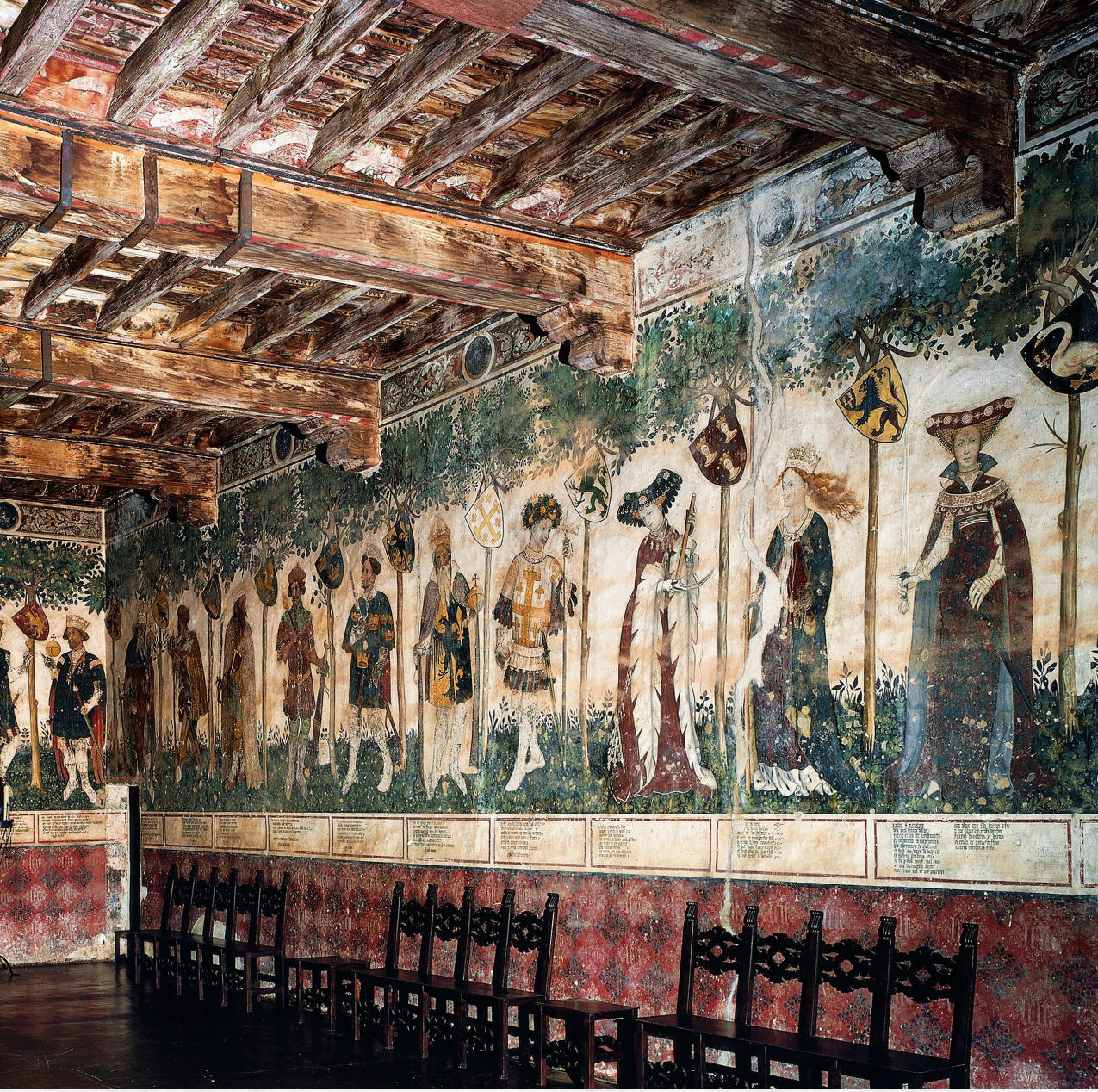
One of the earliest and most representative examples of a chivalrous knight was Godfrey of Bouillon (circa 1060-1100). After the 14th century, he was included among the so-called Nine Worthies: nine men through the ages (some historical, others legendary) deemed to have embodied the ideals of chivalry.

Godfrey was the son of Count Eustace II of Boulogne and Ida of Lorraine, and together with his brothers helped lead the First Crusade in 1096. Godfrey's fame and prestige among the diverse group of barons commanding the Crusade grew so that, when the crusaders succeeded in reclaiming Jerusalem from Islamic rule in 1099, they offered Godfrey the throne of the new kingdom of Jerusalem. Godfrey, in a gesture that ticked all the chivalric boxes, refused and piously argued that no one should wear a golden crown in the city where Christ had worn the crown of thorns. Instead, he agreed to be called the Defender of the Holy Sepulcher.

Godfrey was such an exemplary knight that he became legendary. Embellished tales were written about his journey to the Holy Land and established his noble lineage. The best known of these stories is the legend of the Knight of the Swan; originally, it was the tale of an anonymous knight who appears in a boat drawn by a swan to rescue a damsel in distress. By the end of the 12th century, popular tellings identified the protagonist with the Bouillon dynasty and claimed that the mysterious Knight of the Swan was none other than Godfrey's grandfather. It was a story that wove together fact and fiction

ROLE MODELS

LESSONS FROM THE PAST



The spread of chivalric ideals led to notable historical figures being framed as great knights in the medieval tradition. In western Europe, this popular idea was forged into the canon of the Nine Worthies *(Neuf Preux)* in Jacques de Longuyon's *Vows of the Peacock* in 1312. These Worthies exemplified chivalric values and virtues. Pagan, Jewish, and Christian, they represented three distinct chapters in chivalric history. The first trio were Trojan hero Hector, Greek conqueror Alexander the Great, and Roman general Julius Caesar. The second were from the Old Testament: Joshua, King David, and Judas Maccabeus. The last trio were King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon, the most recent addition.

THE NINE WORTHIES

Painted in the 15th century, this fresco depicts the Nine Worthies and can be found in the Castello della Manta in Saluzzo, Italy.

DEA/ALBUM

around the figure of one of the most recognized knights of Christendom. This mixture of literary evocation, embellishment of reality, and celebration of chivalric values developed over a long period in medieval Europe, and especially in the Anglo-French world.

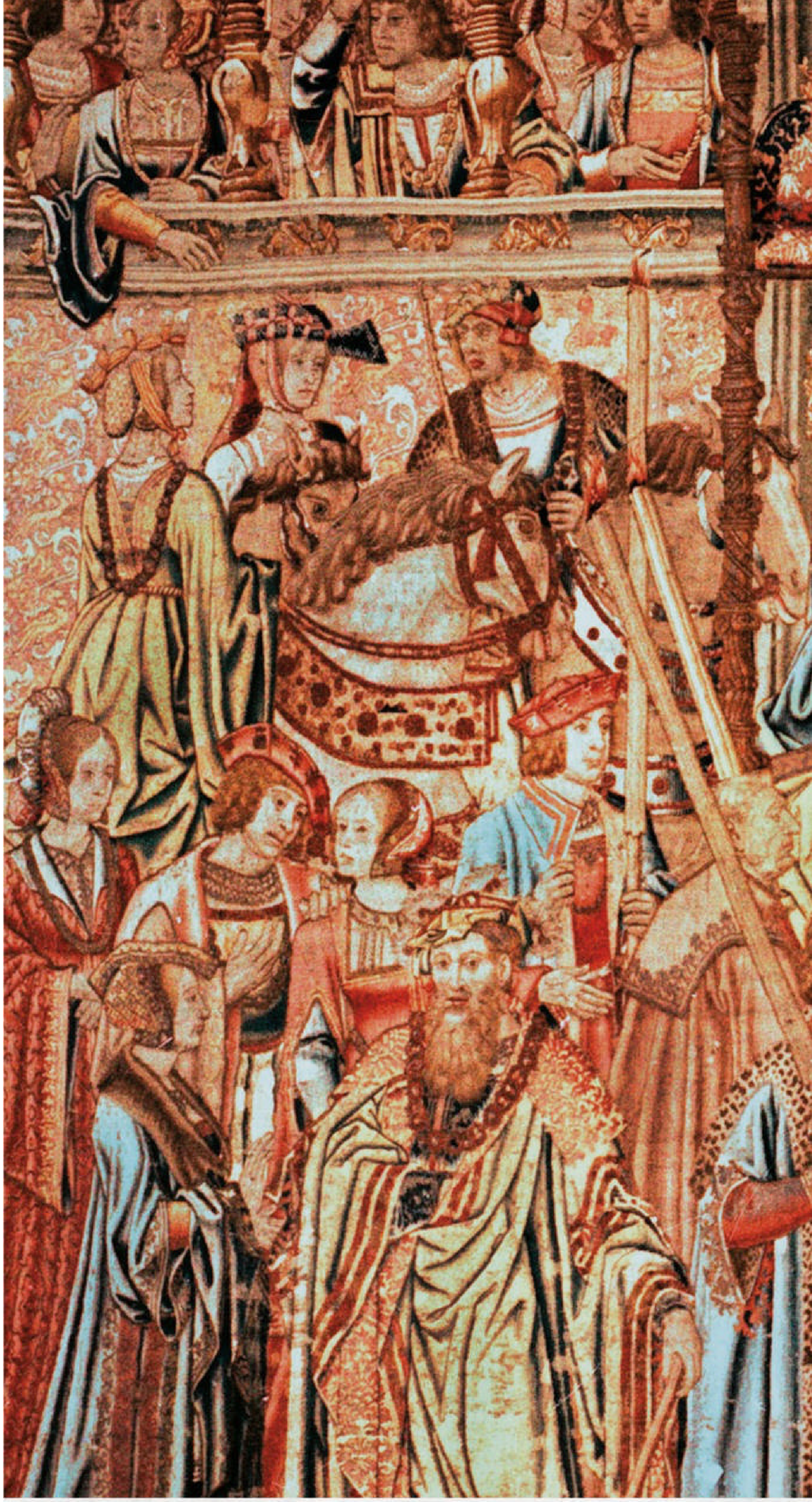
William Marshal

One knight who was well known in both France and England was William Marshal (circa 1146-1219). He served as royal adviser to four English kings: Henry II, Richard I (popularly known as the Lionheart), John, and Henry III. Even members of the French court grudgingly acknowledged that he was the best knight in the world. William guided these four kings wisely through numerous crises and dangers, making his name synonymous with the model of the chivalric virtues of his time.

The details of Marshal's life have been preserved in a literary account commissioned by one of his sons, *L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal,* written in Old French verse. Its lines chart Marshal's meteoric career, from leaving his father's house to train as a knight (as a second son, this path was expected) to the final hours of his life. Although Marshal was no ordinary knight, the account does offer much insight into what life was like for knights in general at the time. There is a description of Marshal's training in the house of the powerful Norman nobleman Guillaume de Tancarville, who was his mother's uncle; his investiture as a knight in 1166; and his first military campaign.

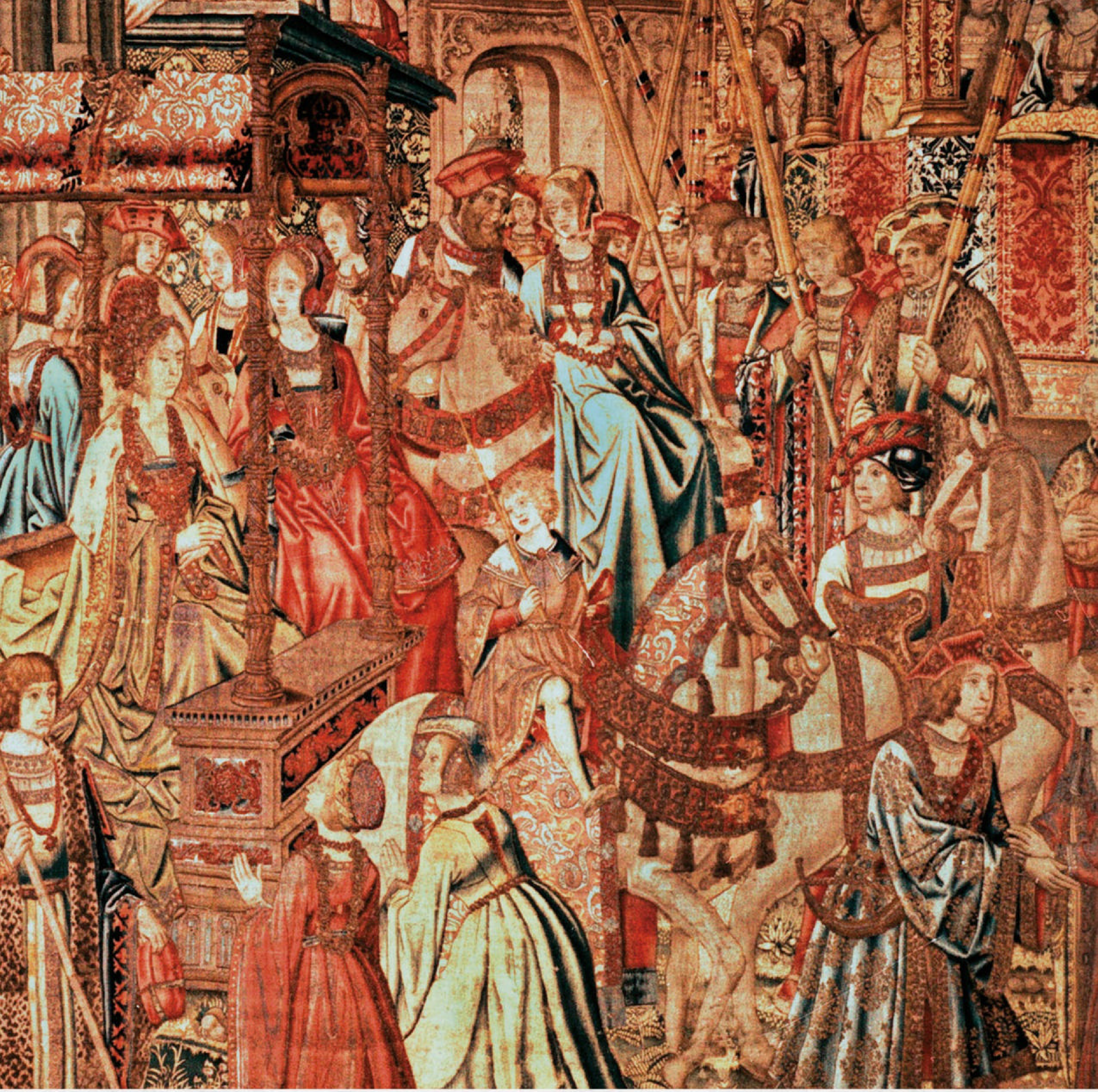
Soon, young Marshal would find an activity that would shape his life and become a true passion: the tournament. These contests were far more brutal than the folk pageant versions celebrated today: more like battles than games. Young knights took part, either individually or in teams, hoping for a chance to demonstrate their fighting prowess and perhaps win themselves fame and fortune.

Although Marshal was no ordinary knight, the account of his life offers insights into what life was like for knights in general at the time.



CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT

TALE OF THE SWAN KNIGHT



German composer Richard Wagner's 19th-century opera *Lohengrin* was inspired by the Swan Knight myth, first told in a late 12th-century text, the *Dolopathos,* in which an anonymous knight appears in a swan-drawn boat and rescues a maiden. A few years later, the same figure cropped up in a chanson de geste (song of heroic deeds), "Le chevalier au cygne" ("Knight of the Swan"). In this iteration he has become the grandfather of Godfrey of Bouillon. This chanson is part of the so-called Crusade Cycle, set during and just after the First Crusade. In the 13th century, German authors like Wolfram von Eschenbach and Konrad von Würzburg further developed the Swan Knight's story, and their work would form the basis of Wagner's opera.

HIGH FANTASY
This 16th-century Flemish tapestry depicts several scenes from a French version of the Swan Knight tale. The knight's mother, Beatrice, is shown at the center.

AKG/ALBUM

During the late 1100s, tournaments were enjoying their heyday, and Marshal excelled at the jousts. For more than a decade, he was said to have unhorsed and captured more than 500 combatants as he went from tournament to tournament. Defeated knights would have to pay a ransom. Together with the spoils from seizing harnesses and saddles, Marshal could enjoy a highly valued chivalric practice: largesse. Generosity in distributing the bounty from his wins allowed him to forge valuable loyalties.

As well as excelling on the tournament field, Marshal acted as master of arms and confidant to Prince Henry, son of Henry II of England and heir to the throne. The young prince died before he could wear the crown, and William fulfilled the promise he had made to him to travel to the Holy Land, where he fought for two years alongside the Templars. When Marshal returned, the king offered him the hand of Isabel de Clare, Countess of Pembroke, one of the wealthiest heiresses in the kingdom. The union raised Marshal to the highest ranks of the nobility. His days as a knight-errant were over.

Marshal would continue to shine on the battlefields. When Richard the Lionheart was away on the Third Crusade, William protected his throne against the maneuvering of John Lackland, the king's brother and regent. After Richard's death, when the same John's right to the throne was in dispute, Marshal was one of the few great nobles to remain on John's side during the First Barons' War, in which the nobility rebelled and forced King John to issue the charter of rights known as Magna Carta.

This uncompromising loyalty to the crown sealed William Marshal's reputation as the greatest knight of his time. He died shortly after his last great military victory, the Battle of Lincoln, in 1217, where he succeeded in driving the French army out of England, and forcing the French king to give up his claim to the English throne.

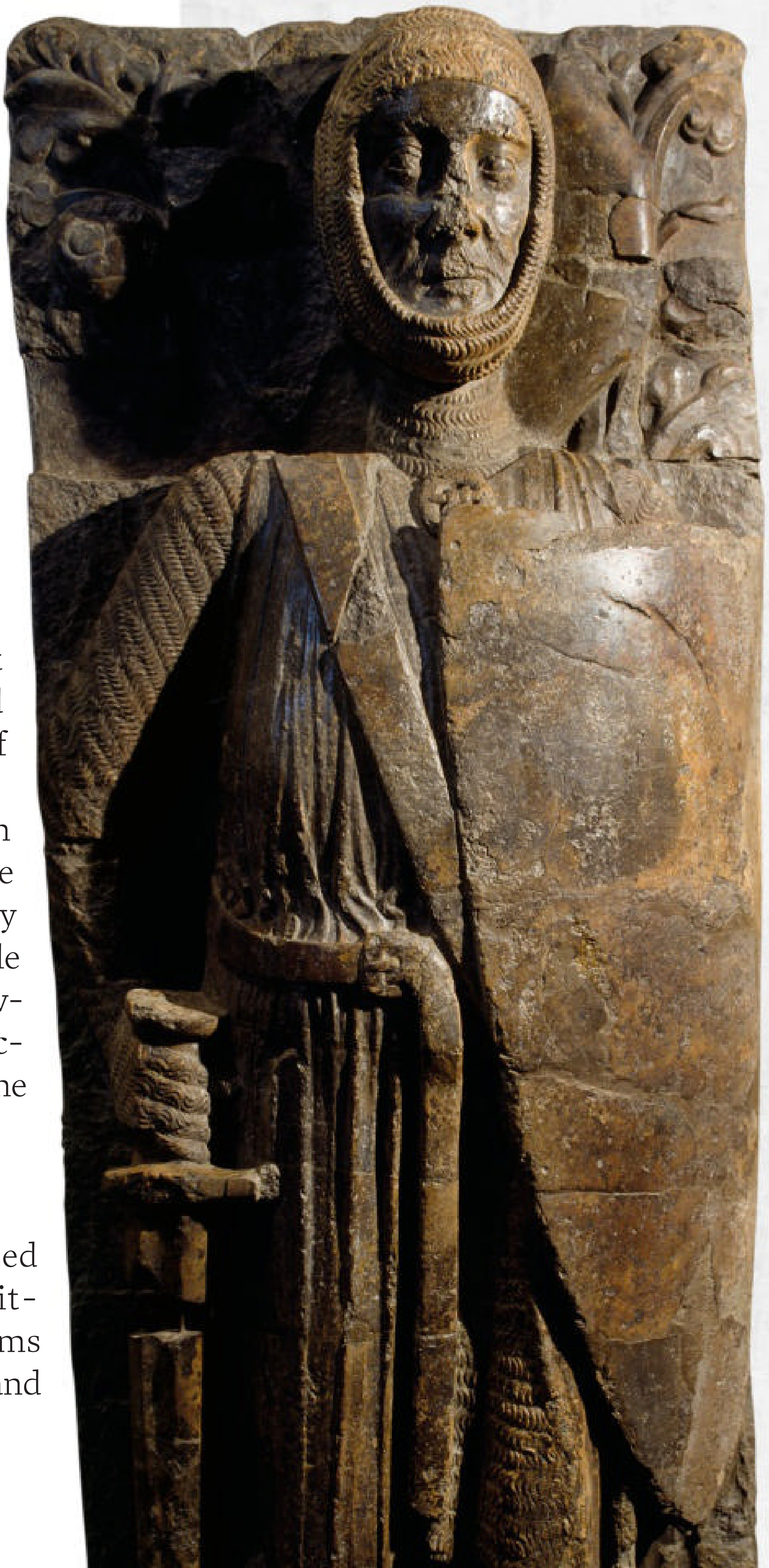
Ulrich von Liechtenstein

While some knights became immortalized through the poems of heroic deeds written about them, others crafted those poems themselves. A rich tradition of literature and

SEEKING THE PRIZE

WINNER TAKES IT ALL

William Marshal's knightly career is one of the few that was meticulously documented, albeit in a somewhat embellished form. The verse biography *L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* was commissioned by Marshal's son and heir, and relates Marshal's adventurous life. It is a fantastic resource for colorful details about the tournaments knights competed in. Competitions in the 1100s often featured giant melee battles, in which teams of knights would square off against each other. At the end of a particularly boisterous battle, Marshal's helmet was so battered and misshapen that he had to employ the services of a blacksmith to pry him out of it. Marshal enjoyed such great success on the tournament circuit that in 1179 he even formed his own battle company. Marshal employed a patient strategy for his team, holding back while allowing other teams to fight each other at full strength until they were exhausted. Then, his team could strike and easily win the day—and all the costly spoils that fell to them as victors.



ETERNAL REST

A recumbent statue has been possibly identified as William Marshal, in London's Temple Church, where he was buried in 1219.

ALAMY/ACI

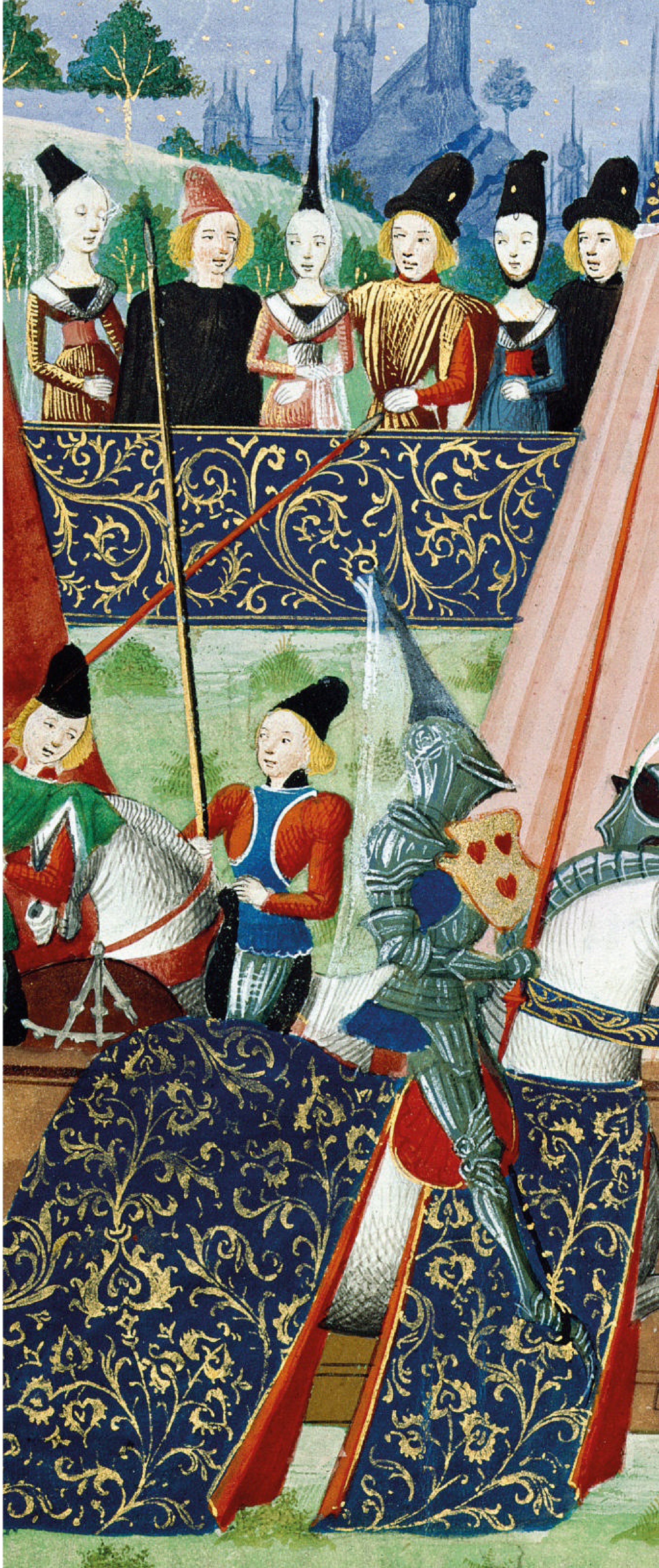
FERNS CASTLE
This fort was erected in the early 1200s by William Marshal in the Irish county of Wexford, one of his domains as Earl of Pembroke.
ALAMY/ACI

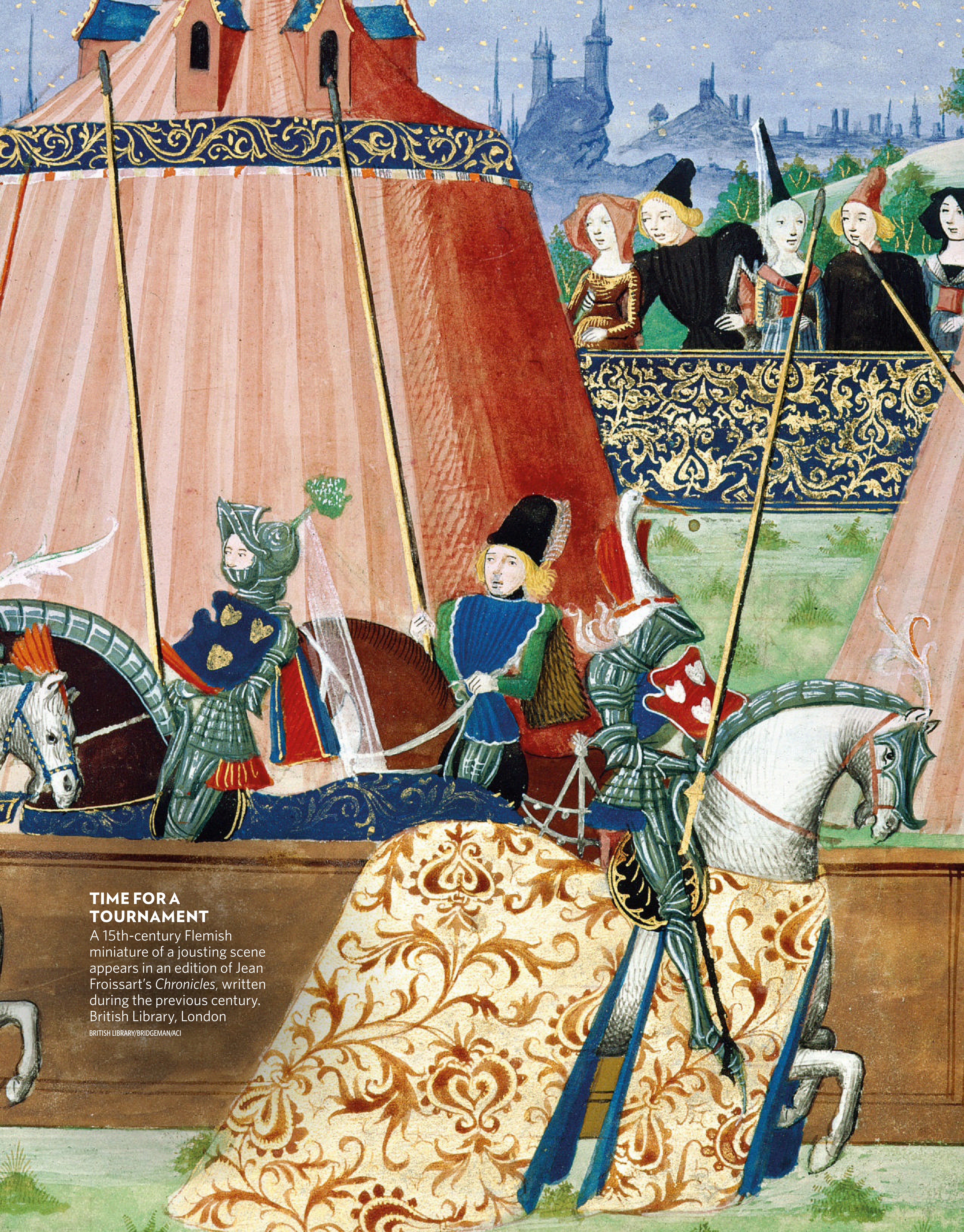
illustration developed around the chivalric way of life. The most notable case is perhaps that of Ulrich von Liechtenstein (1200-1278), a knight from Styria (today in Austria), who was known not only for his military exploits but also for his role as a *Minnesänger,* or troubadour. He was knighted in 1223 by Leopold VI, the Duke of Austria, one of the most prominent politicians and patrons of his time. Leopold promoted chivalric pursuits at his court and soon chose Ulrich from among the Styrian nobility. Ulrich was granted the important positions of seneschal and marshal, but it was for his writing that he has been remembered.

Two of Ulrich's works survive. In the *Frauenbuch,* or *Book of Ladies,* he laments that courting ladies, which he considers a cornerstone of chivalry, is in decline. The other, the *Frauendienst,* or *Service of Ladies,* is a poetry collection (apparently autobiographical) in which Ulrich reflects on conventions of courtly love and chivalric pursuits. He frames these reflections through two adventures in honor of his lady. In the first, the knight travels disguised as the goddess Venus and competes in jousts and tournaments from Venice to Vienna. During his journey, he faces and defeats several hundred knights. In the second adventure, this time disguised as King Arthur, he sets out with the intention of testing himself against every knight who crosses his path, to bring honor to his lady.

A miniature of Ulrich von Liechtenstein is among 137 such illustrations included in the Codex Manesse. The codex brings together ballads and poems in High Middle German by some 140 Minnesänger and was compiled in the early 1300s. Ulrich appears in the image wearing a suit of chain mail and galloping on a large horse. In his right hand he holds a blunted jousting lance, and in his left, a shield. The poems and illustrations in the Codex Manesse offer some of the best surviving sources for understanding chivalric life at the time.

The knight Ulrich von Liechtenstein was known not only for his military exploits but also for his role as a troubadour.





TIME FOR A TOURNAMENT

A 15th-century Flemish miniature of a jousting scene appears in an edition of Jean Froissart's *Chronicles*, written during the previous century. British Library, London

BRITISH LIBRARY/BRIDGEMAN/ACI

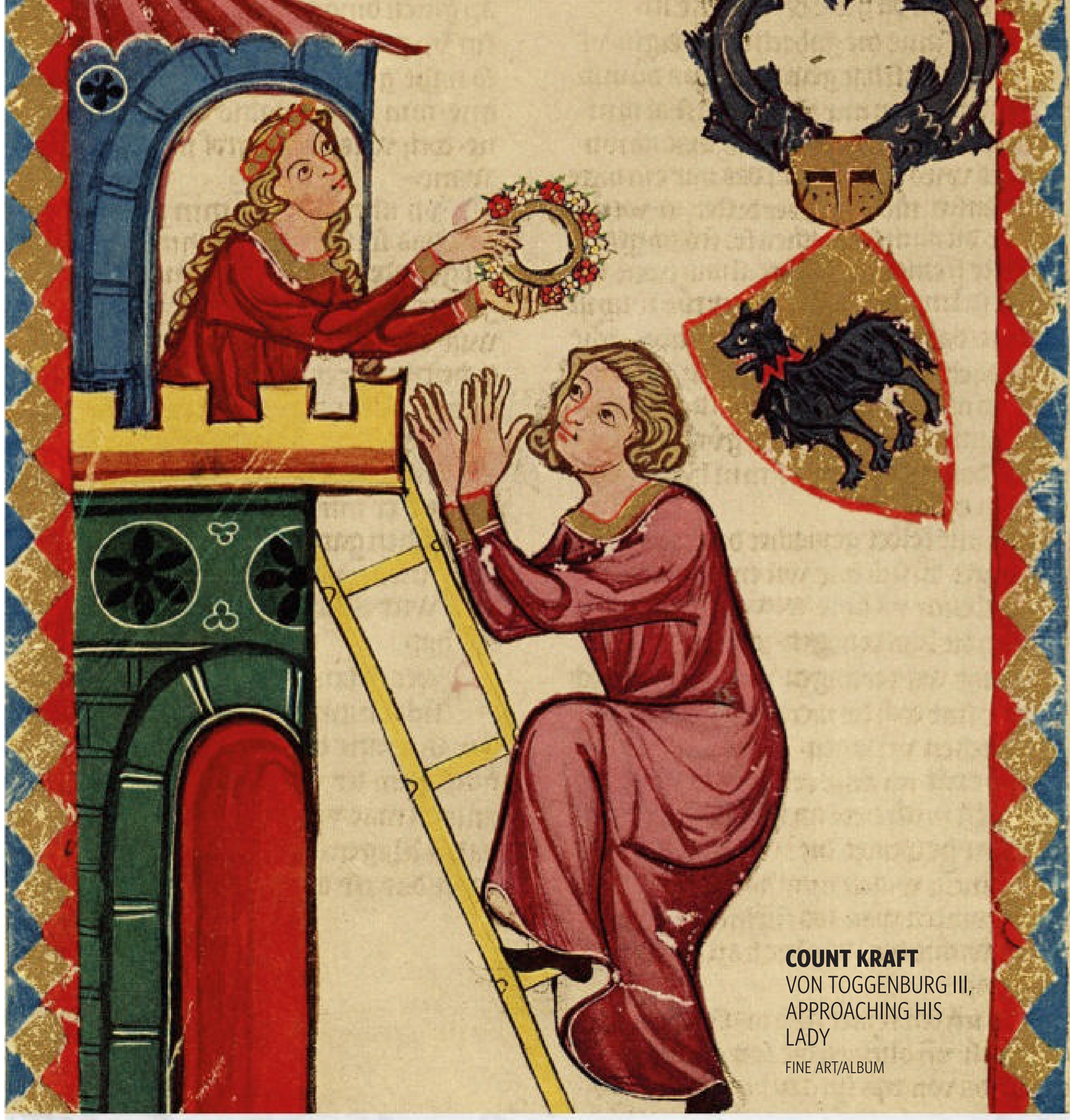
The Second Boucicaut

Later in the 14th century, the chivalric ideals of heroes on horseback were increasingly at odds with the military reality in which soldiers engaged on foot. As a result of this change in military strategy, the cavalry of knights on horseback lost the essential role it had played for 200 years. By the time the 15th century got under way, it was reduced to more of a court spectacle. As knights moved away from the battlefield and to tournaments, the ceremonial forms of combat became increasingly elaborate. In this transition, memorable figures emerged, including Jean II le Meingre (1366-1421), also known as Boucicaut.

Jean inherited his moniker from his father (Boucicaut either means "fish basket," associated with slyness and greed, or—more flatteringly—"cautious ox," associated with prudence and strength). Like his father, he also succeeded to the office of marshal of France, a position of great power. As a child, he was a court page and rode in his first military expedition when he was just 12. He left accounts of his grueling training schedule to build strength. Boucicaut ran great distances, perfected jumping from the ground into his horse's saddle, and learned to climb ladders using his arms alone. At age 16, he was knighted and took part in the Battle of Roosebeke, Flanders, in which the French won a major victory. For two decades, he was the hero of the European battlefields.

And the battles continued. In 1384 Boucicaut fought alongside the Teutonic order in their crusade against the Lithuanians in the Baltic. He then went to Spain, where he fought for John I of Castile against the English invader John of Gaunt. In the Balkans, he backed the Byzantine emperor against the Turks. In what is now Lebanon, he attacked and sacked cities including Tripoli, Sidon, and Beirut. With one military success after another, Boucicaut's career took off and, in 1391, he was invested marshal of France, as his father had been before him. For a brief period, he was also governor of Genoa.

In the late 14th and early 15th centuries, Boucicaut became involved in setting up chivalric orders. Together with 12 other knights, he founded the White Lady of the Green Shield to protect the female relatives of knights away in battle, on crusades, or who had died. This order would attract the praise of court writer

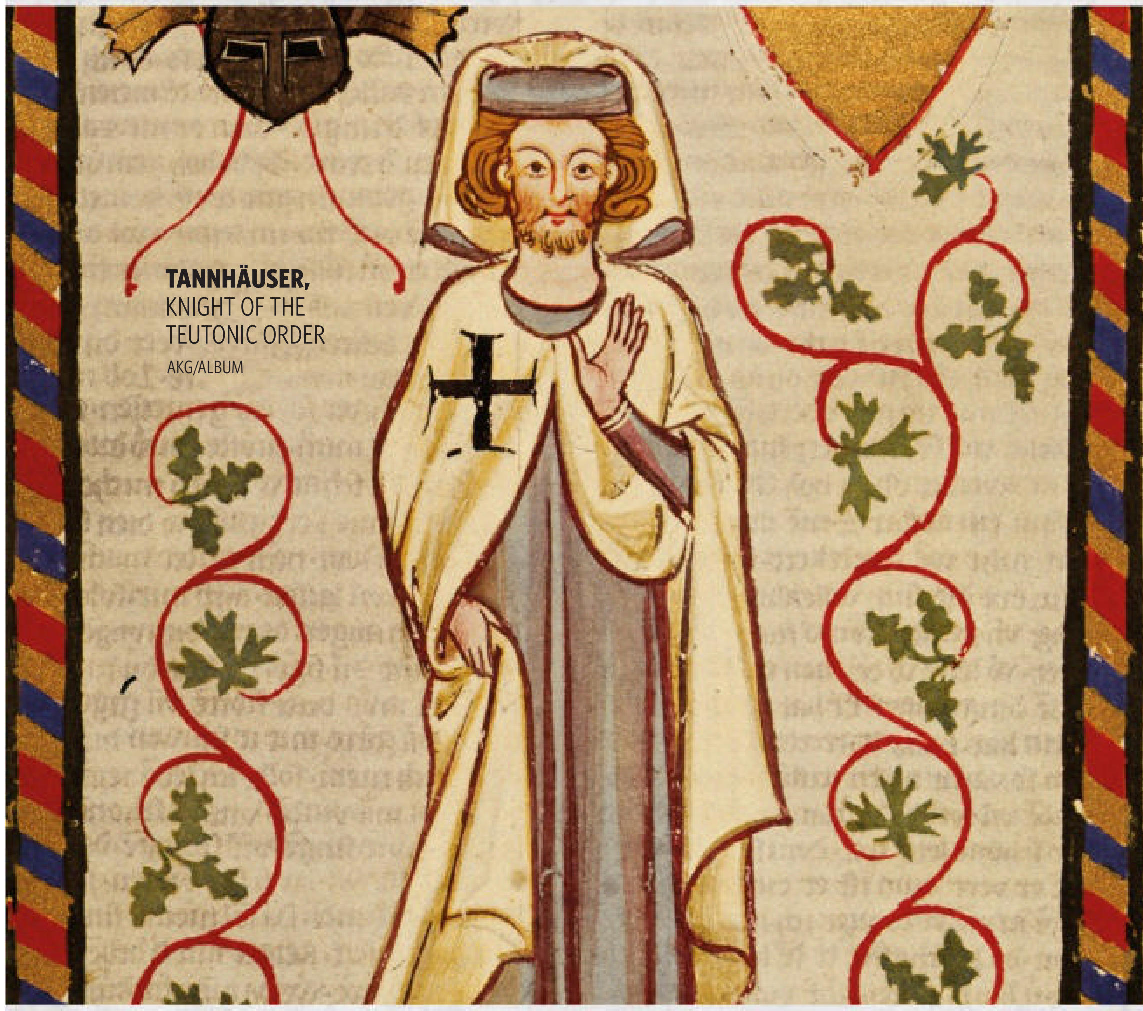


COUNT KRAFT VON TOGGENBURG III, APPROACHING HIS LADY

FINE ART/ALBUM

SERVICE TO THE LADIES

Courtly love, first developed as a court game, was a template for chivalric service: The knight promised to serve his lady in the same way that a vassal promised to serve his king.

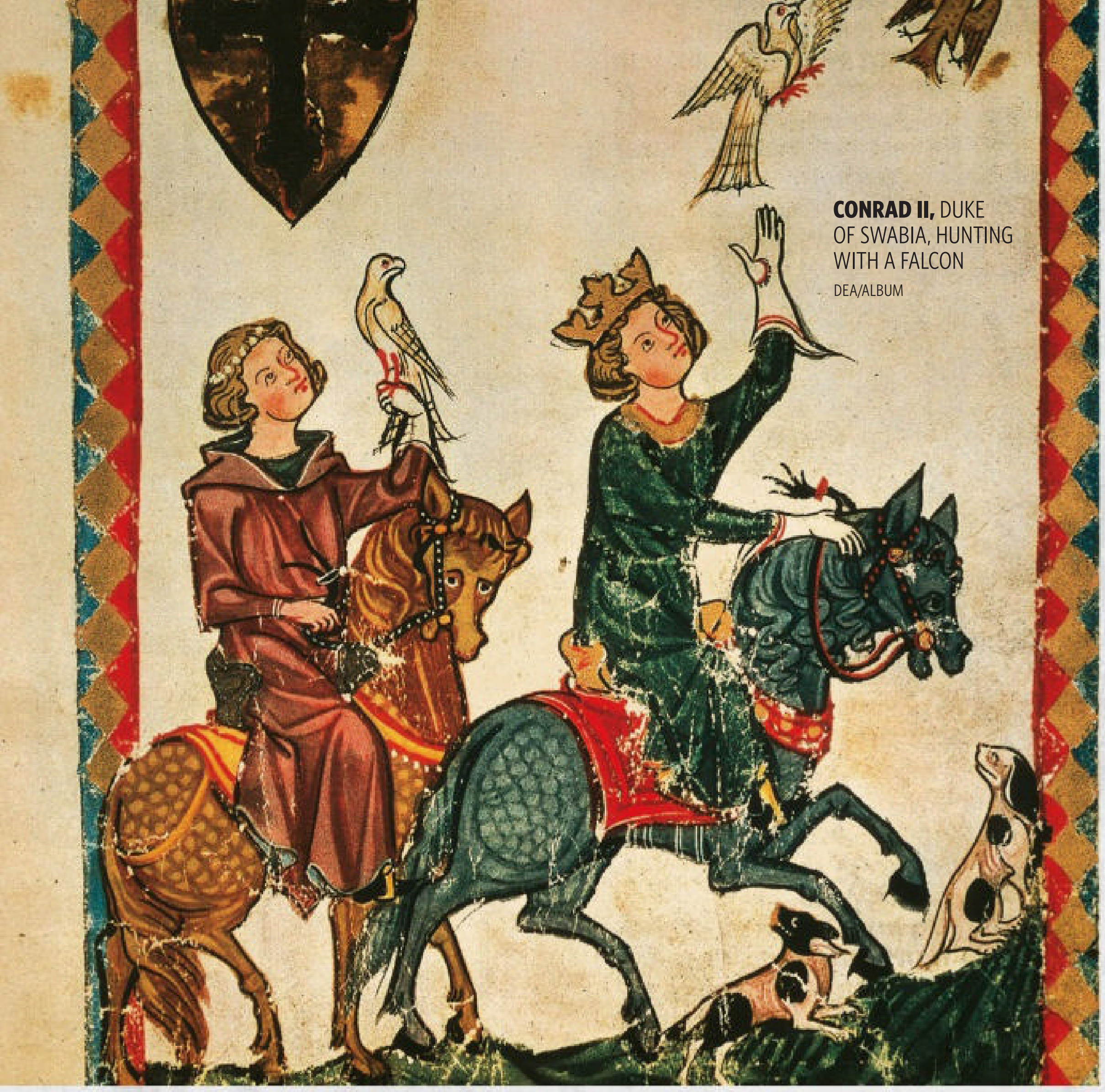


TANNHÄUSER, KNIGHT OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER

AKG/ALBUM

DEFENSE OF THE FAITH

Defending Christianity and Christian values was the bedrock of the chivalric life. Many knights took part in the Crusades between 1095 and 1291 as part of their adherence to these tenets.

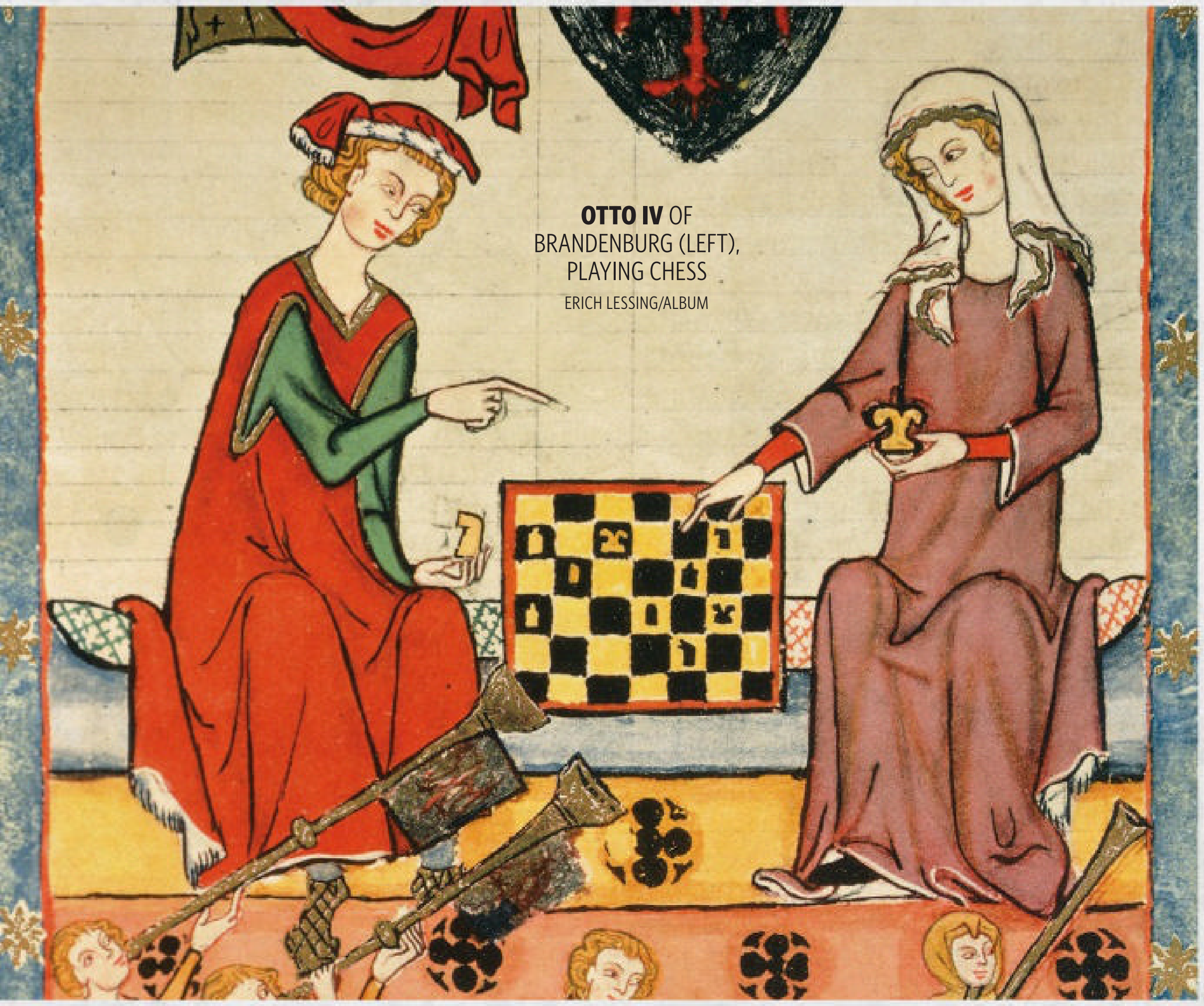


CONRAD II, DUKE OF SWABIA, HUNTING WITH A FALCON

DEA/ALBUM

HUNTING AND FALCONRY

As a metaphor for the inner perfection of the knight, falcons took flight and served their master as the knight served his lord, mirroring the ideal feudal relationship.

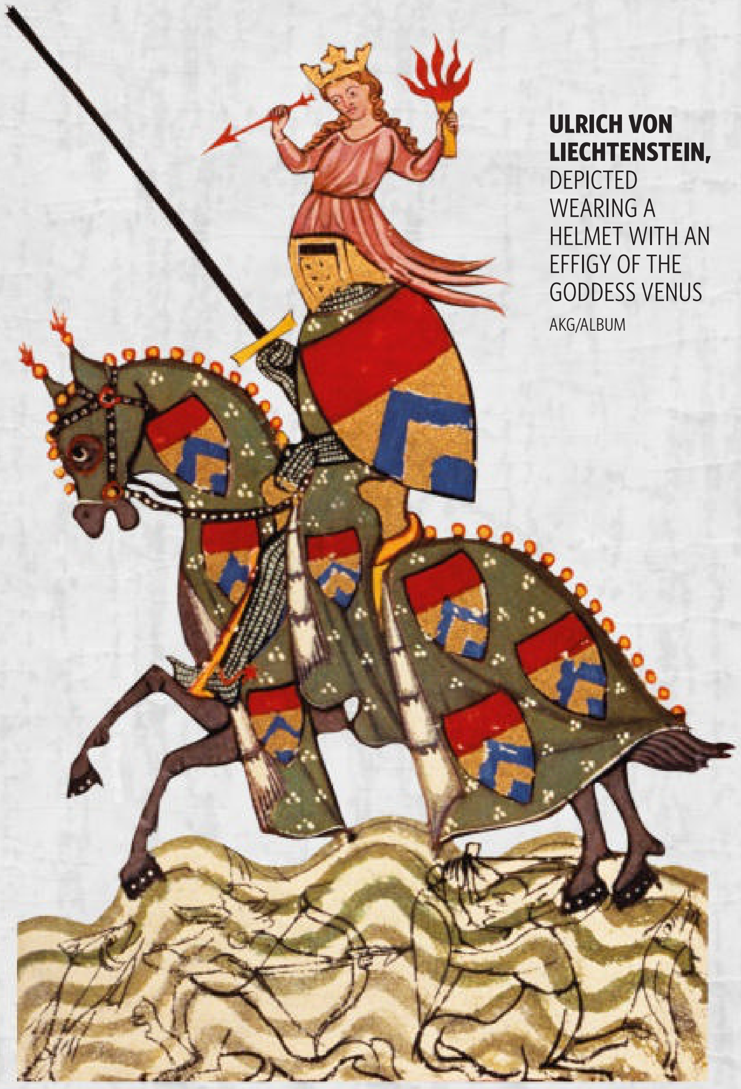


OTTO IV OF BRANDENBURG (LEFT), PLAYING CHESS

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

NOBLE PASTIMES

Chess was introduced to Europe during the Middle Ages and became one of the most popular chivalric pastimes. There were numerous treatises on the game in circulation.



ULRICH VON LIECHTENSTEIN, DEPICTED WEARING A HELMET WITH AN EFFIGY OF THE GODDESS VENUS

AKG/ALBUM

THE CODEX MANESSE

WELL-ROUNDED MEN

The Codex Manesse is a richly illustrated work from the first half of the 14th century that brings together many poetic compositions of the *Minnesänger* (Germanic troubadours). Its splendid miniatures, some of which are displayed at left, showcase an idealized version of the life that knights aspired to embody. The codex suggests that the life of the knight was not limited to combat or practicing with arms, but was composed of a rich universe of courtly activities that formed a kind of educational model of its own. Pastimes such as hunting and falconry; the playing of games, especially chess; and even the intricate dance of courtly love had a meaning and purpose that went beyond merely pleasing hobbies. Upholding ethical values and defending the faith underpinned everything.

Christine de Pisan, who was outspoken about the rights of women.

The perilous life of a knight often entailed suffering, and Boucicaut did endure two major defeats. First, he was among the band of Christian knights routed by the Ottoman Turks at Nicopolis in 1396. His second and definitive defeat came at the Battle of Agincourt in 1415. The English captured Boucicaut and took him to England, where he died in 1421.

The End of Chivalry

The English longbows and trained archers combined to bring victory at Agincourt, along with the tactics of sneak-attack cavalry charges and defensive maneuvers of massed, unknighted foot soldiers. Longbows and new tactics led to killing an enemy at a distance. Black powder firearms—long-barreled arquebuses, muskets, and pistols—came on the scene in the late 1400s, further changing combat. Knights had fought face-to-face with their foes for so long and considered doing so a mark of honor, but these changes made their suits of armor and methods of combat seem outdated.

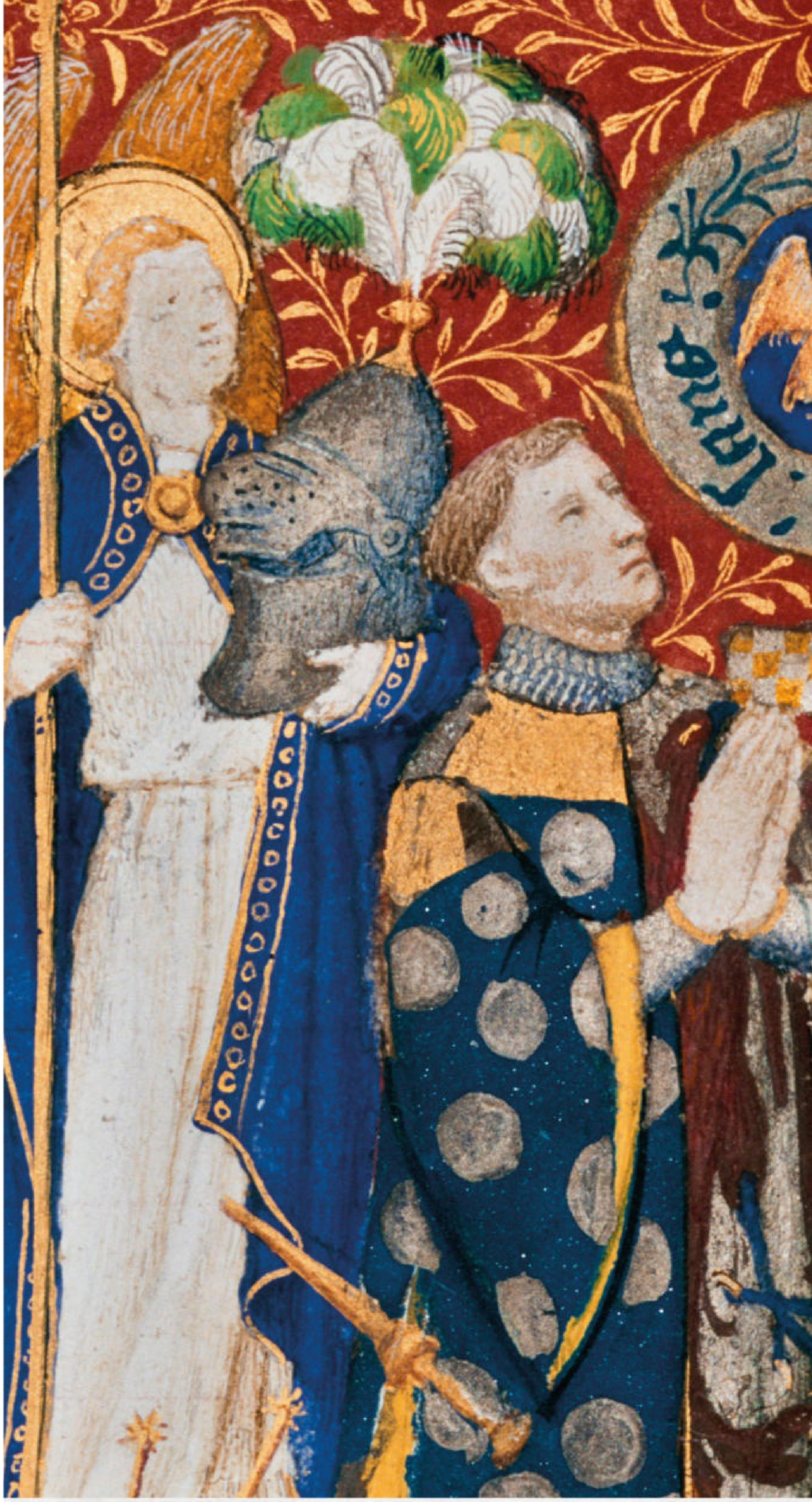
Systemic changes also hastened the decline of knights. Monarchs grew stronger and were able to develop more modern institutions to collect taxes, create courts of law, and fund standing armies. Distance grew between the church and the state as both competed for power and influence across western Europe.

The knightly world created by feudalism, with its articulated values of nobility, an ingrained social and religious order, and a courtly code of conduct, was shaken to its foundation by these developments. The new world order, centered on a powerful monarchy and its administrators, radically altered their support system, livelihood, beliefs, and the very society that had created them. The age of chivalry was over, but the lives and legends of these medieval men would endure for centuries. ■

MEDIEVALIST **ALBERTO RECHE** IS A MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE FOR MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT THE AUTONOMOUS UNIVERSITY OF BARCELONA, SPAIN.

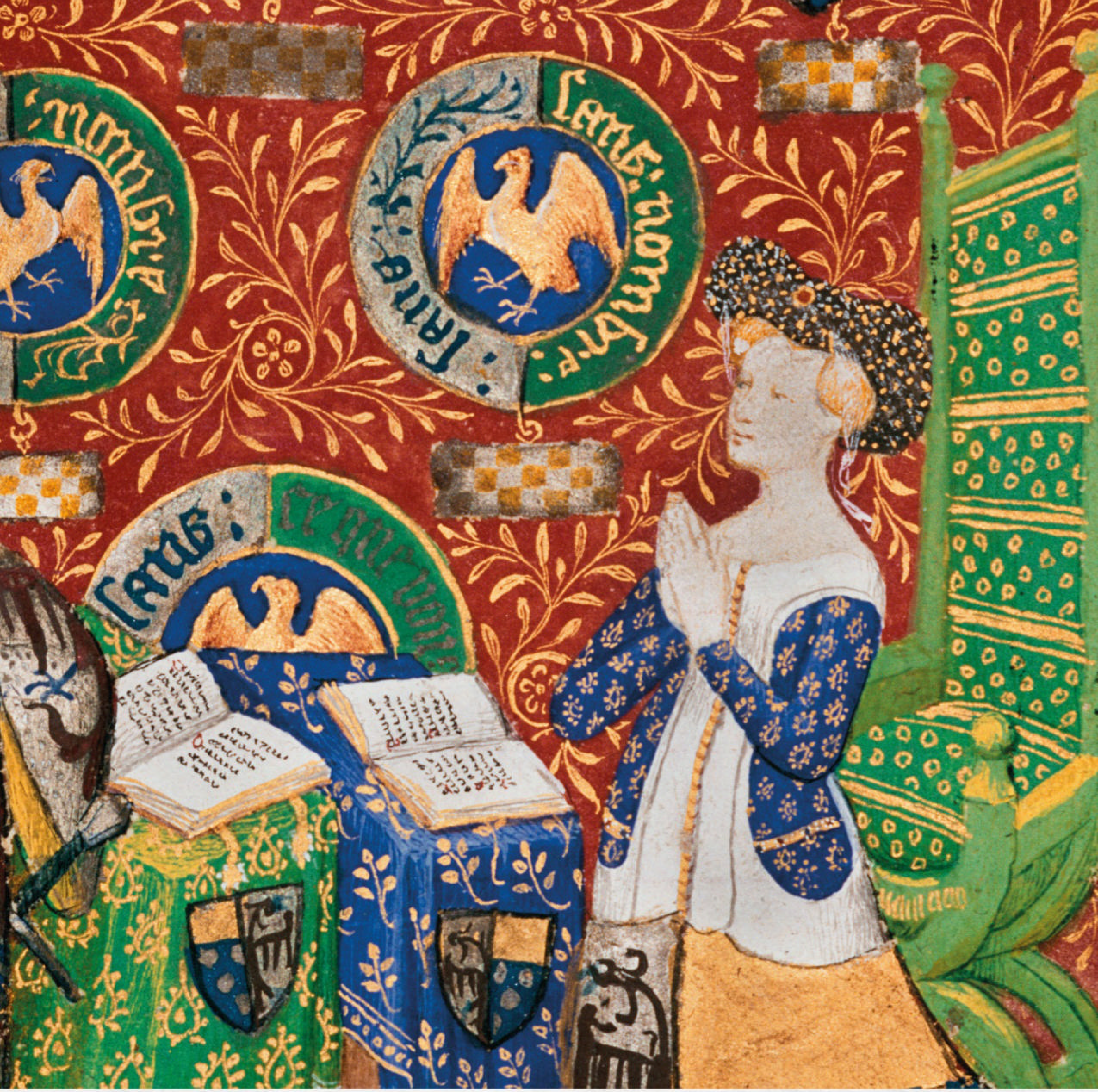
Learn more

The Knight in History
Frances Gies, Harper Perennial, 2011.



'UPON ST. CRISPIN'S DAY'

BOUCICAUT'S FINAL DEFEAT



Immortalized in 1599 by William Shakespeare in *Henry V*, the Battle of Agincourt proved to be the undoing of the French hero Boucicaut. On October 25, 1415 (St. Crispin's Day), the French suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the English. Together with army commander Charles d'Albret, Boucicaut was one of the leaders of the French side, but he could do little to prevent the loss: There was dissonance in the French chain of command caused by conflict between the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy. Boucicaut suffered the ravages of defeat firsthand: He was captured by the enemy and taken to England where he was imprisoned in Yorkshire. The French knight died there six years later.

KNIGHT'S PRAYER
French knight and military leader Boucicaut prays with his wife in this 15th-century miniature. Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris

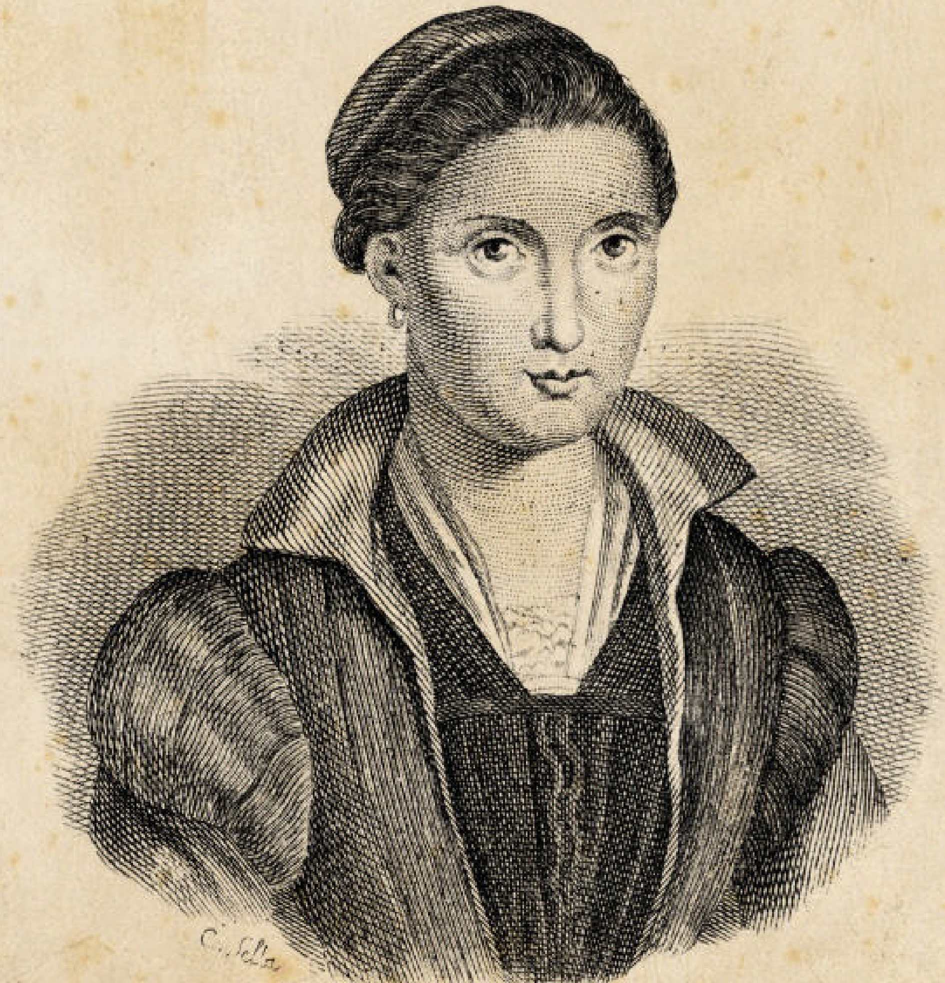
AGENCE BULLOZ/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

SOFONISBA

UNSUNG GENIUS OF THE RENAISSANCE

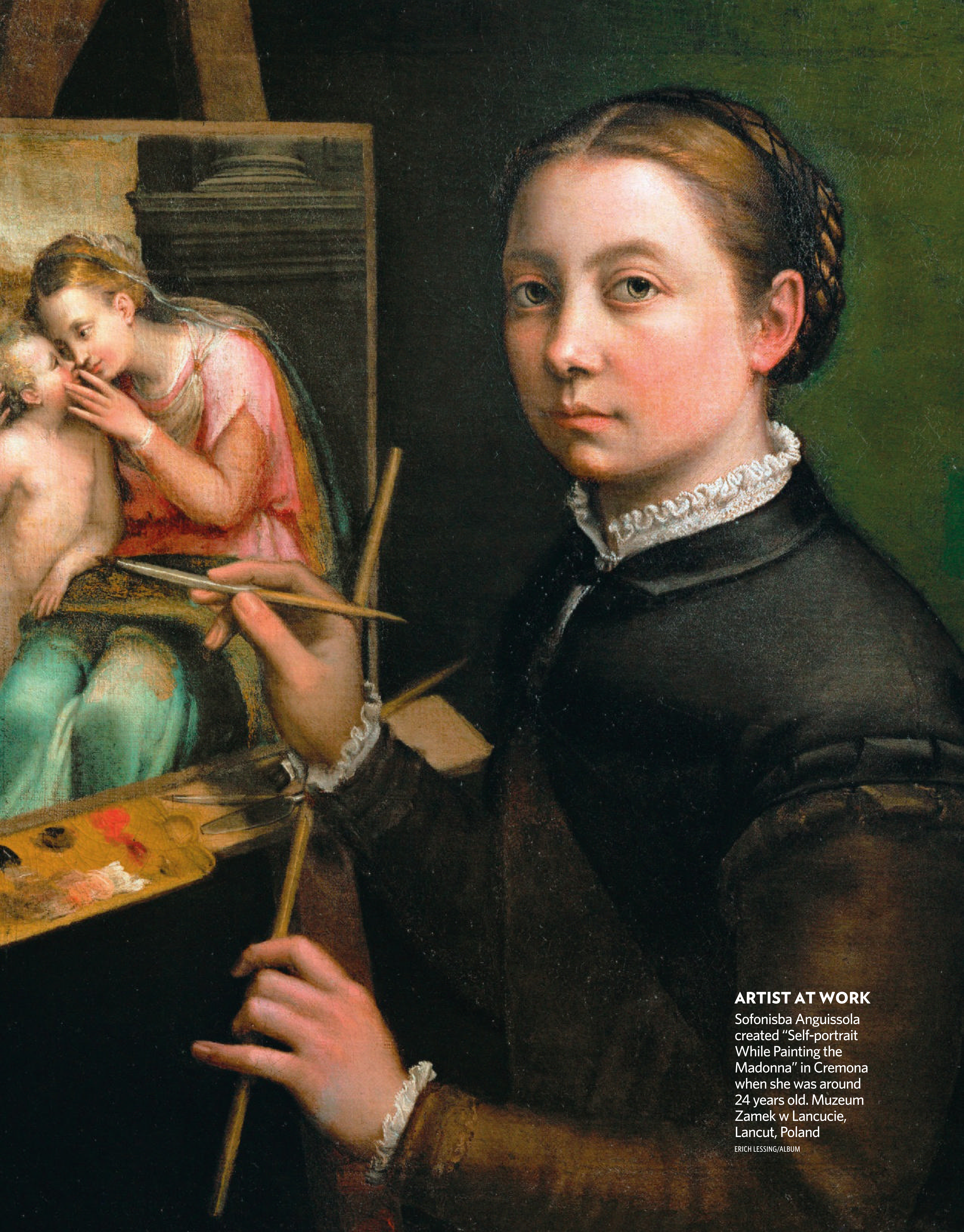
Painting with tenderness and bravura, Sofonisba Anguissola stunned Michelangelo with her talent. Appointed as a court painter to the king of Spain, the Italian artist became Europe's first female superstar artist.

ALESSANDRA PAGANO



SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA IN A 19TH-CENTURY ITALIAN ENGRAVING

DEA/BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA/GETTY IMAGES



ARTIST AT WORK

Sofonisba Anguissola created "Self-portrait While Painting the Madonna" in Cremona when she was around 24 years old. Muzeum Zamek w Lancucie, Lancut, Poland

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

Artistic ferment bubbled in Italy in the late 1400s and early 1500s, but despite the later idealization of that period as the Renaissance, it was also a time of extreme violence. As the armies of Spain, France, and the Holy Roman Empire battled to control the peninsula, Machiavelli was devising his brutal ideas about political science, and Leonardo da Vinci was juggling his masterpieces with military designs for guns and cannons. War and patriarchal values kept women at home and ensured that the names of Renaissance luminaries almost all belong to men.

Born amid the gore and glory of the era, Sofonisba Anguissola was exceptional on many levels: She won fame in her own lifetime as one of a tiny number of Renaissance women who painted their way out of domesticity and, later, into the world's art museums. Her prodigious talent dazzled Michelangelo, and at age 27 she went to Madrid to become one of Europe's most brilliant court painters. Her many works inspired a later generation of baroque artists, including Anthony Van Dyck and Caravaggio.

Genius in the Family

Sofonisba was born around the year 1532 in Cremona, northern Italy, the eldest child of Bianca Ponzoni and Amilcare Anguissola. The last of the seven Anguissola children was born in 1555, completing a close-knit, creative family of six girls and one boy. Amilcare encouraged not only his son Asdrubale but also all his daughters—Sofonisba, Elena, Lucia, Minerva, Europa, and Anna Maria—to obtain a high level of education and to cultivate the arts. Sofonisba's talent soon became too obvious to ignore.

In 16th-century Italy, young women who wanted to become painters were not allowed to be apprentices in professional studios. The only hope for budding female artists was to receive tuition from male relatives (the later, baroque artist Artemisia Gentileschi, for example, was taught by her artist father). Since Amilcare Anguissola was not an artist, he took the unusual step of allowing Sofonisba to study under the painter Bernardino Campi when she was about 14.

CA 1532

Sofonisba Anguissola is born to a cultured, noble family in Cremona, Italy.

1546

Encouraged by her father, Sofonisba begins to study painting under Bernardino Campi.

1559

Invited to the court of Philip II of Spain, Sofonisba excels as a portraitist and forges royal friendships.

1573

At age 40, Sofonisba marries and returns to Italy, where she continues to teach and paint.

1625

After having her portrait painted by Van Dyck, Sofonisba dies in Sicily.

Sofonisba studied through her late teens and early 20s under Campi, and later Bernardino Gatti. At 22, she met Michelangelo Buonarroti. Impressed by her talent, he offered to help her and provided feedback and critiques of her work.

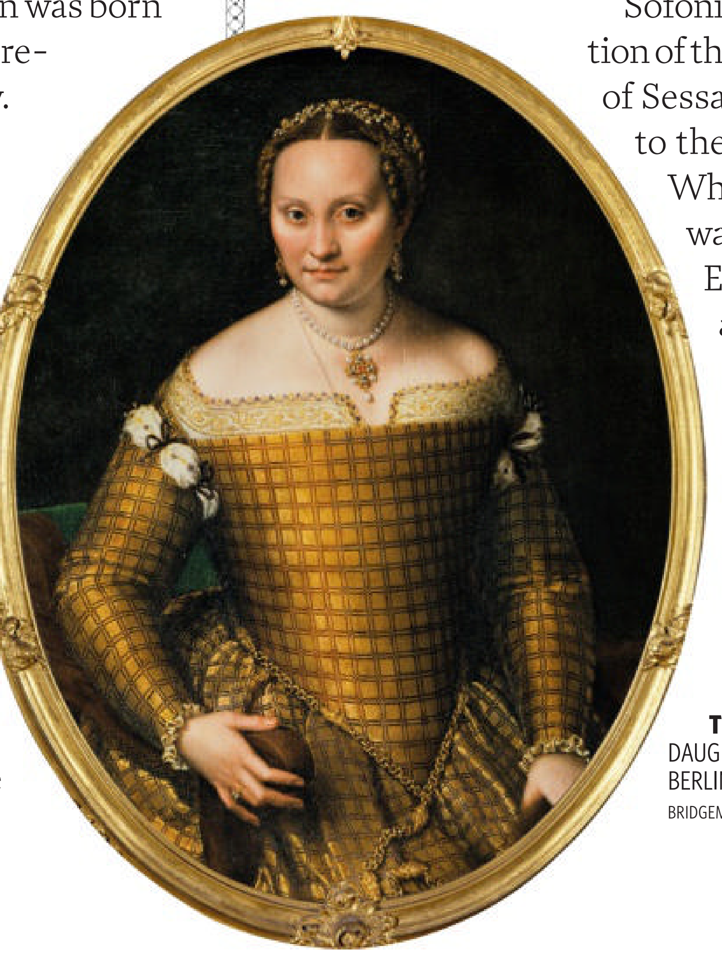
After seeing Sofonisba's sketch of a laughing young girl, Michelangelo challenged her with an assignment: draw a child crying. The result was her famous drawing, "A Boy Bitten by a Crawfish," which brilliantly captures the expression of fright and pain on the face of a boy (the model was her younger brother Asdrubale). Many years later, this drawing inspired Caravaggio to create "Boy Bitten by a Lizard" (circa 1595).

International Career

The long Italian wars that had dragged on through Sofonisba's youth were ended in 1559. The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis drew Cremona, already a dominion of Spain, deeper into the Spanish orbit after France renounced its claim to the Duchy of Milan.

Sofonisba's brilliance had come to the attention of the Spanish governor of Milan, the Duke of Sessa. He recommended her appointment to the court of the Spanish king, Philip II. While Sofonisba was technically lady-in-waiting to Philip II's new French queen, Elizabeth (Isabel, in Spain) of Valois, she actually served as the drawing mistress and portrait painter of the royal family.

The Madrid court may not have seemed a congenial place for a young artist from a close-knit family. Ruler of Spain, its American colonies, swathes of Italy, and the Low Countries, Philip II had a reputation for



THE ARTIST'S MOTHER. BIANCA PONZONI PAINTED BY HER DAUGHTER, SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA, 1557. GEMÄLDEGALERIE, BERLIN STATE MUSEUMS, BERLIN

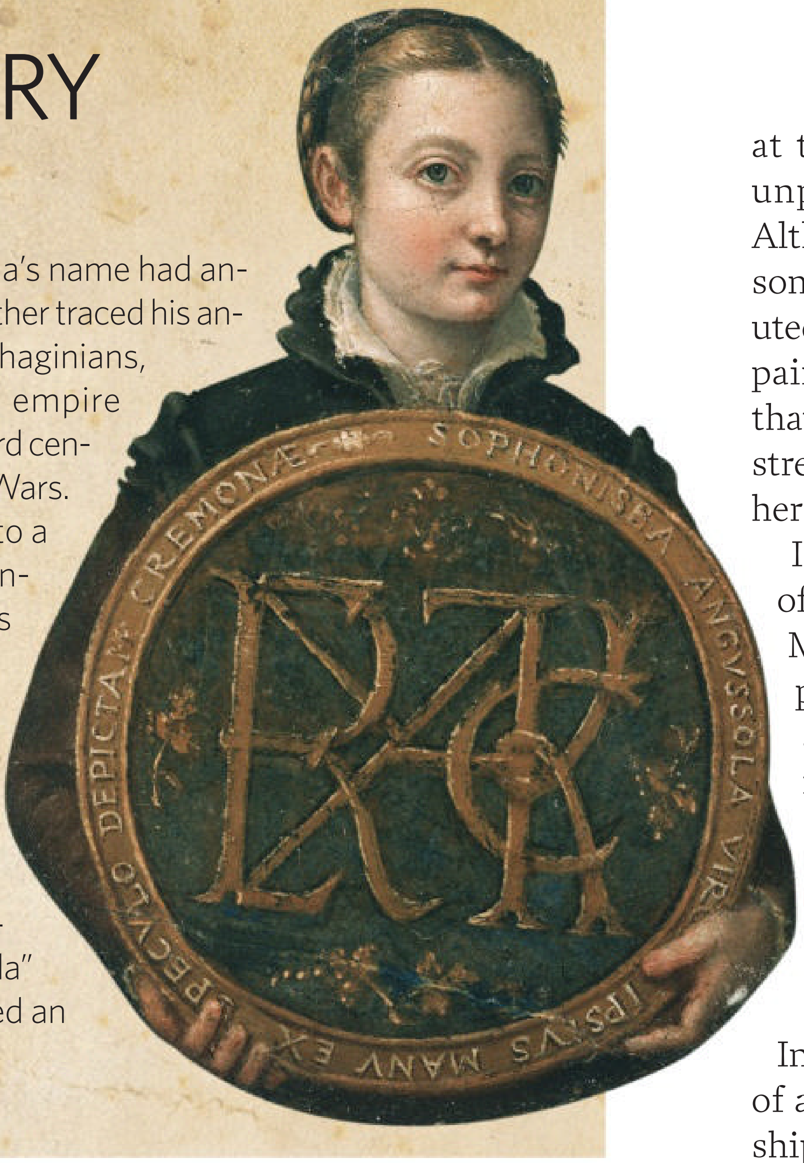
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

CHILDREN OF CREMONA
From the Torrazzo (bell tower) of the city's cathedral is a bird's-eye view of Sofonisba Anguissola's birthplace, Cremona, in northern Italy. The city was also home to the composer Claudio Monteverdi and the violin maker Antonio Stradivari.

KAROL KOZLOWSKI/ALAMY

LEGENDARY NAMES

Sofonisba Anguissola's name had ancient origins. Her father traced his ancestors to the Carthaginians, the North African empire that invaded Italy in the third century B.C. during the Punic Wars. Her first name belonged to a virtuous Carthaginian princess. Her surname derives from a legend told about another ancestor, a Byzantine nobleman who pulled off a stunning victory over the Umayyad Muslims in the eighth century. His successors became known as "Anguissola" because his shield featured an eel—in Latin, *anguillae*.



FAMILY PRIDE
In 1556 Sofonisba painted a miniature self-portrait that featured a monogram of her father's name (detail, above). Around the edge, a Latin inscription says "Painted from a mirror by her own hand, Sofonisba Anguissola, virgin from Cremona." Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

SCALA, FLORENCE

being gloomy and austere. Nevertheless, Sofonisba's long sojourn in Madrid was marked by close friendships, especially with Queen Isabel, who on arrival in Madrid was only 14 years old. Sofonisba stayed by her side through her pregnancies, and taught the royal children—Isabella Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela.

These art classes helped forge an intimate bond with the family. In 1561 an Italian ambassador reported: "Sofonisba the Cremonese says that her pupil [Queen Isabel] is very good and paints naturally with a crayon in a way that one recognizes the sitter." Sofonisba's royal portraits included her 1565 likeness of King Philip. Her familiarity with some of the other sitters, especially Queen Isabel, and later, her two daughters, enabled her to blend warmth and expressiveness with the rigid canons of royal portraiture.

In 1568 tragedy struck when Queen Isabel, 23, died in childbirth. Italian ambassadors reported Sofonisba's intense grief at her friend's death. Even though many of Isabel's courtiers left Madrid after her death, Sofonisba remained at the request of Philip II, who wanted her to help educate the young princesses Isabella Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela (in Spain, known as the infantas). Her position at the court allowed her to achieve near-unprecedented fame for a female artist. Although many art historians now believe that some of her works have been wrongly attributed to other painters—notably the chief court painter, Alonso Sánchez Coello—it is clear that Sofonisba was highly regarded at court. A stream of pensions from the monarch attest to her high standing at the palace.

In 1573 King Philip approved the marriage of Sofonisba to a Sicilian nobleman, Fabrizio Moncada, and provided his brilliant court painter with a dowry. The infantas, then six and seven, attended the proxy ceremony in Madrid. The couple set up home in Sicily, but their marriage was cut short by Fabrizio's death, at the hand of pirates, in 1579.

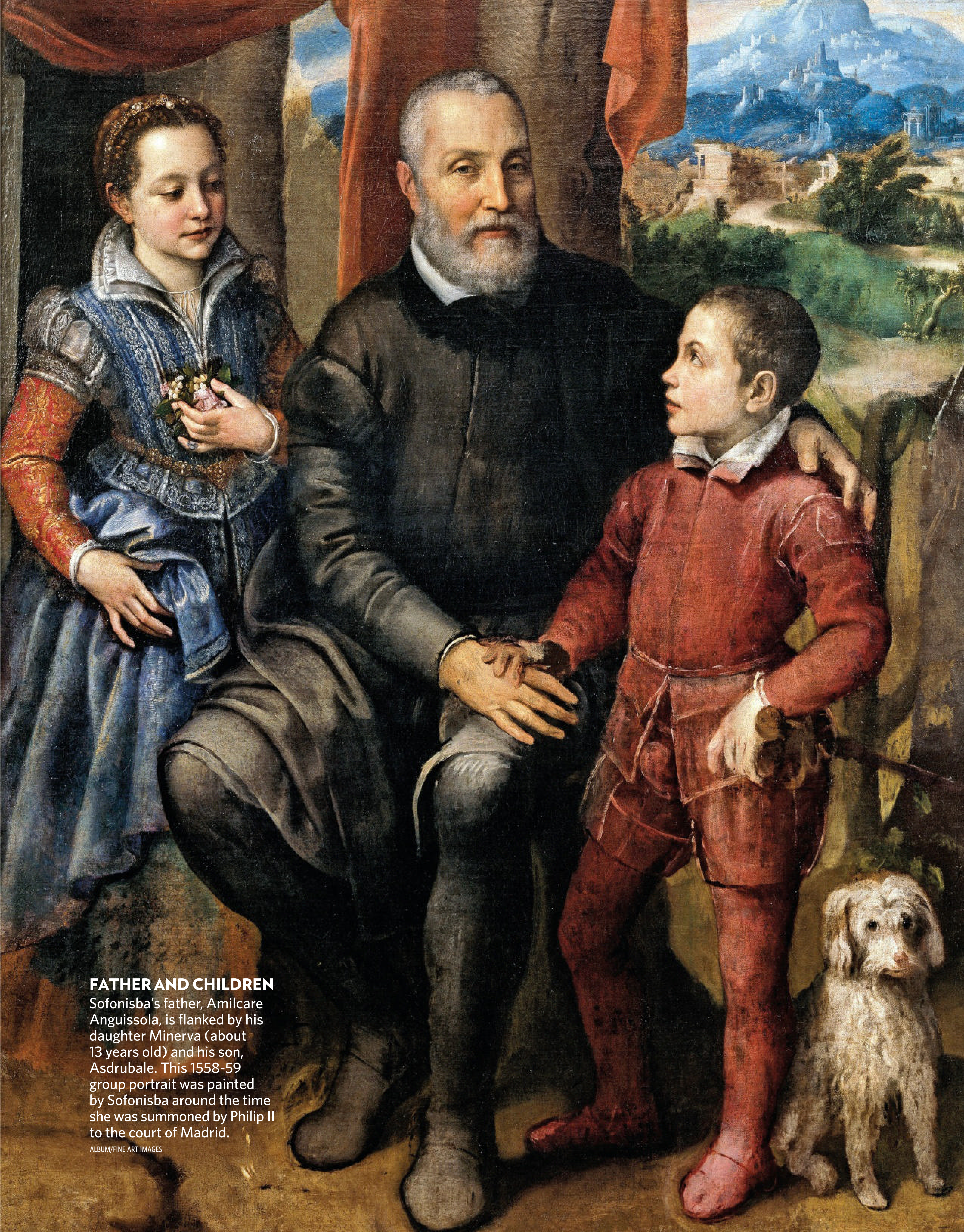
Details of Sofonisba's life on the island are scarce, but it appears she kept working. In 2008 researchers confirmed the discovery of a document proving Sofonisba's authorship of a painting of a Madonna in the Sicilian church of Santa Maria de la Annunziata, in Paternò. For centuries, the work—one of a small number of religious paintings she produced—had been wrongly attributed to another painter.

Undimmed by Age

Sofonisba returned to northern Italy, possibly to be near her family. After remarrying, she lived in Genoa, where she may have painted the then adult infantas. She lived there for 35 years. When she was in her 80s, and nearly blind, she moved with her second husband back to Sicily, where, in 1624 she was visited by painter Anthony Van Dyck.

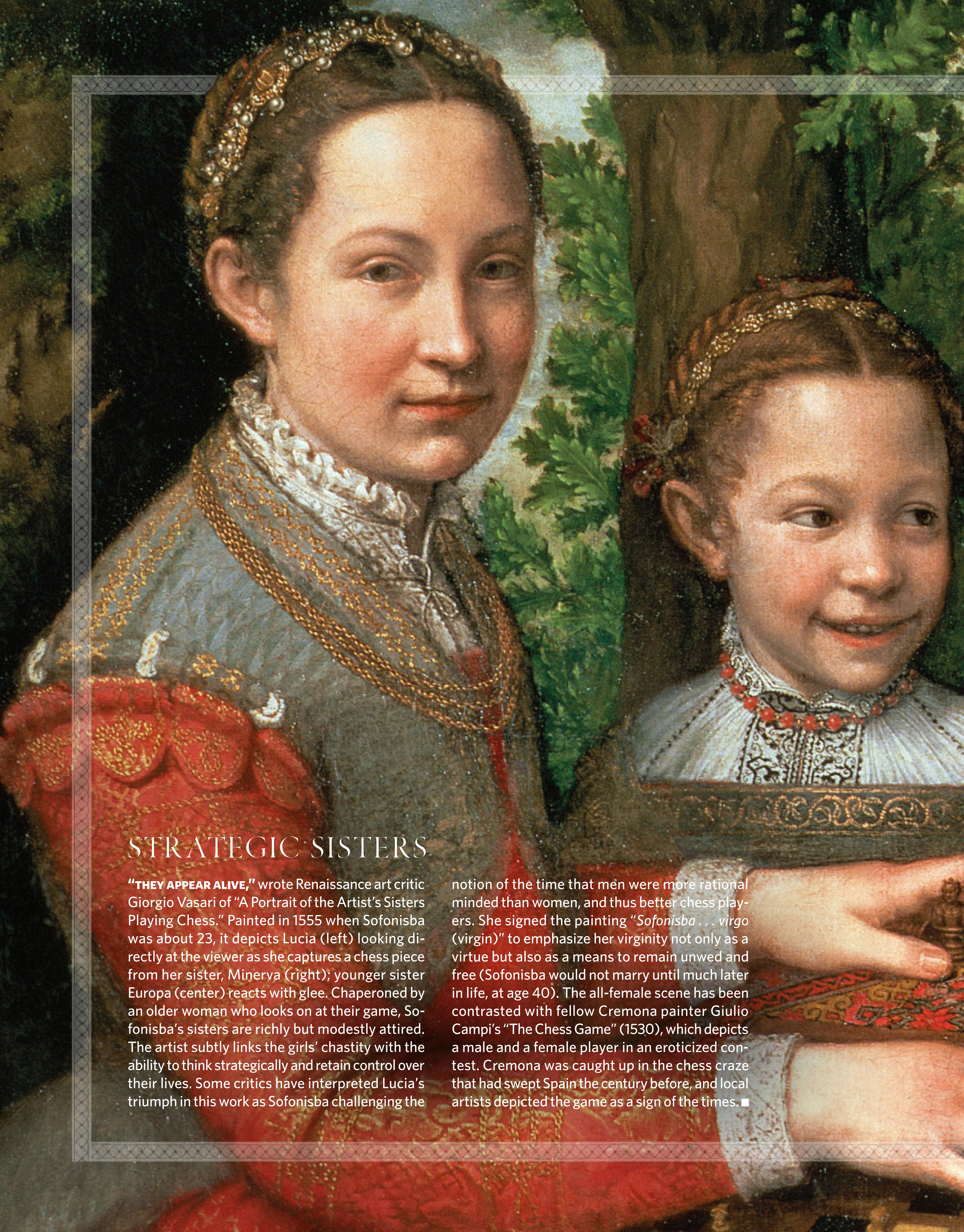
The young baroque artist was deeply impressed by his encounter with the doyenne of Renaissance art, immortalizing her in a portrait in which her spirit burns on through her lined face and tired eyes. She died in 1625, around age 93. Her husband had these words engraved on her tomb in the church of San Giorgio dei Genovesi: "To Sofonisba, one of the illustrious women of the world for her beauty and for her extraordinary natural abilities, so distinguished in portraying the human image that no-one of her time could equal her." ■

HISTORIAN **ALESSANDRA PAGANO** WRITES ON ARTISTS OF THE RENAISSANCE ERA. SHE IS ALSO A SPECIALIST ON ART FROM HER NATIVE ITALIAN REGION OF CALABRIA.



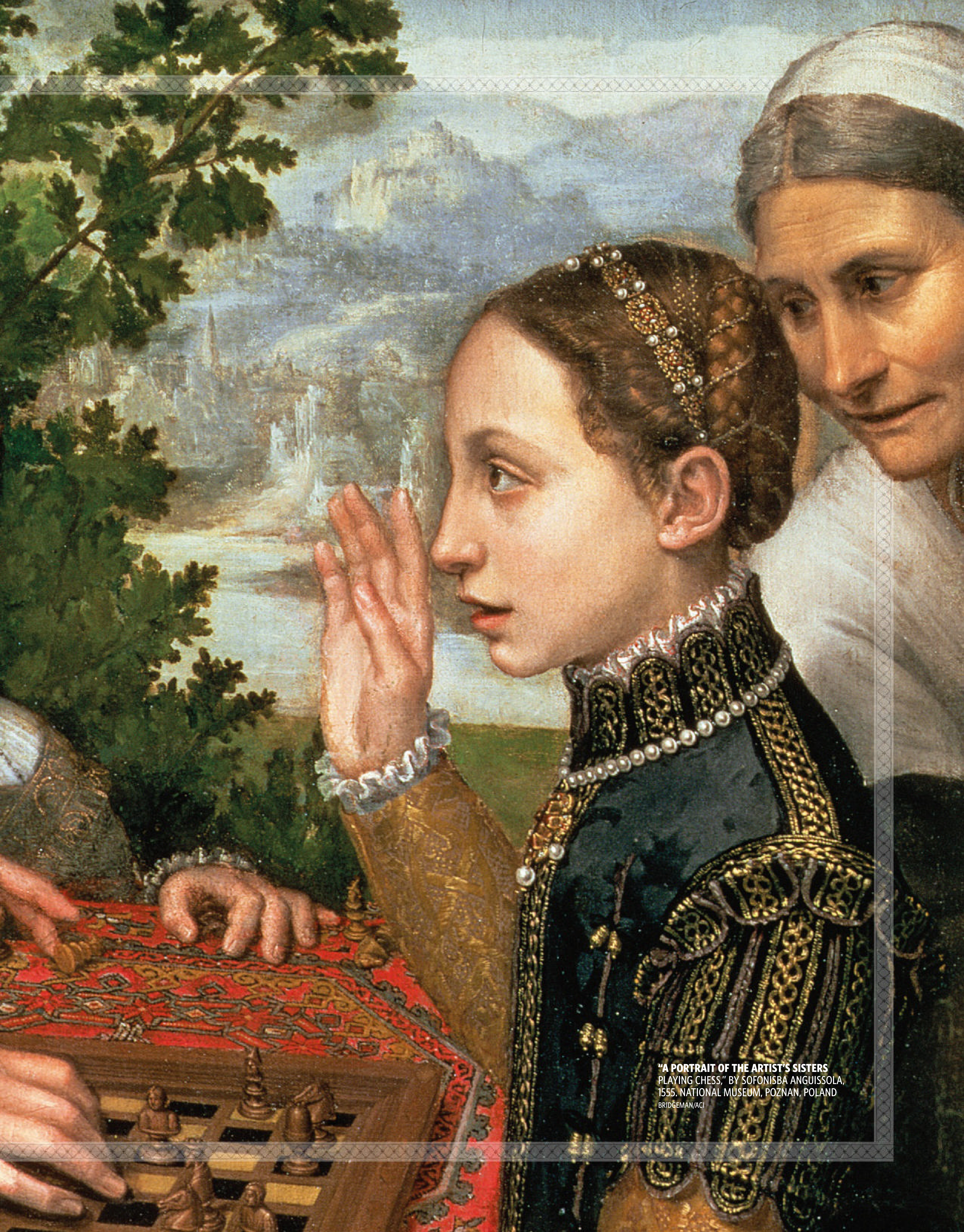
FATHER AND CHILDREN
Sofonisba's father, Amilcare Anguissola, is flanked by his daughter Minerva (about 13 years old) and his son, Asdrubale. This 1558-59 group portrait was painted by Sofonisba around the time she was summoned by Philip II to the court of Madrid.

ALBUM/FINE ART IMAGES



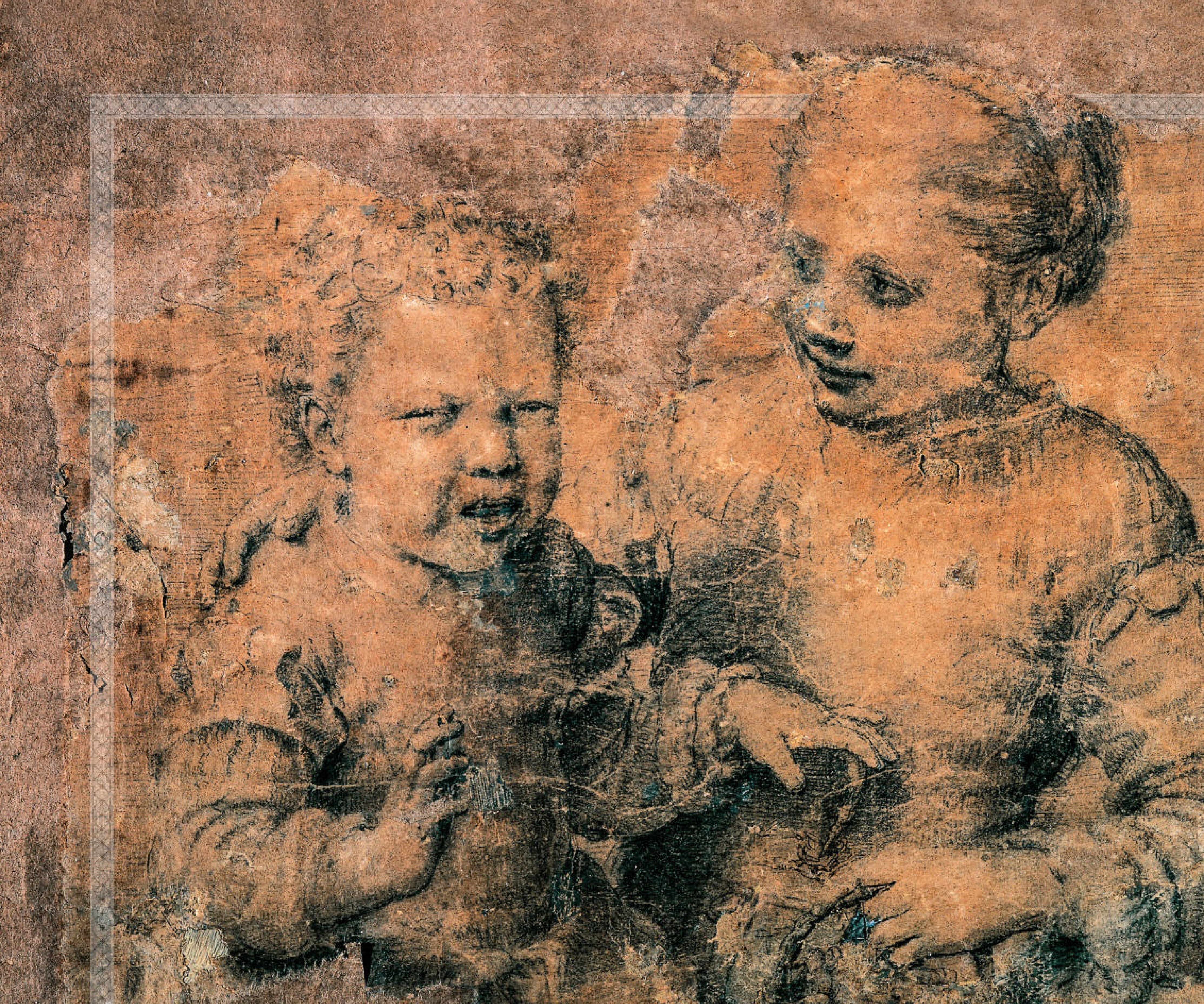
STRATEGIC SISTERS

“THEY APPEAR ALIVE,” wrote Renaissance art critic Giorgio Vasari of “A Portrait of the Artist’s Sisters Playing Chess.” Painted in 1555 when Sofonisba was about 23, it depicts Lucia (left) looking directly at the viewer as she captures a chess piece from her sister, Minerva (right); younger sister Europa (center) reacts with glee. Chaperoned by an older woman who looks on at their game, Sofonisba’s sisters are richly but modestly attired. The artist subtly links the girls’ chastity with the ability to think strategically and retain control over their lives. Some critics have interpreted Lucia’s triumph in this work as Sofonisba challenging the notion of the time that men were more rational minded than women, and thus better chess players. She signed the painting “*Sofonisba . . . virgo* (virgin)” to emphasize her virginity not only as a virtue but also as a means to remain unwed and free (Sofonisba would not marry until much later in life, at age 40). The all-female scene has been contrasted with fellow Cremona painter Giulio Campi’s “The Chess Game” (1530), which depicts a male and a female player in an eroticized contest. Cremona was caught up in the chess craze that had swept Spain the century before, and local artists depicted the game as a sign of the times. ■



"A PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST'S SISTERS PLAYING CHESS," BY SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA, 1555. NATIONAL MUSEUM, POZNAN, POLAND

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

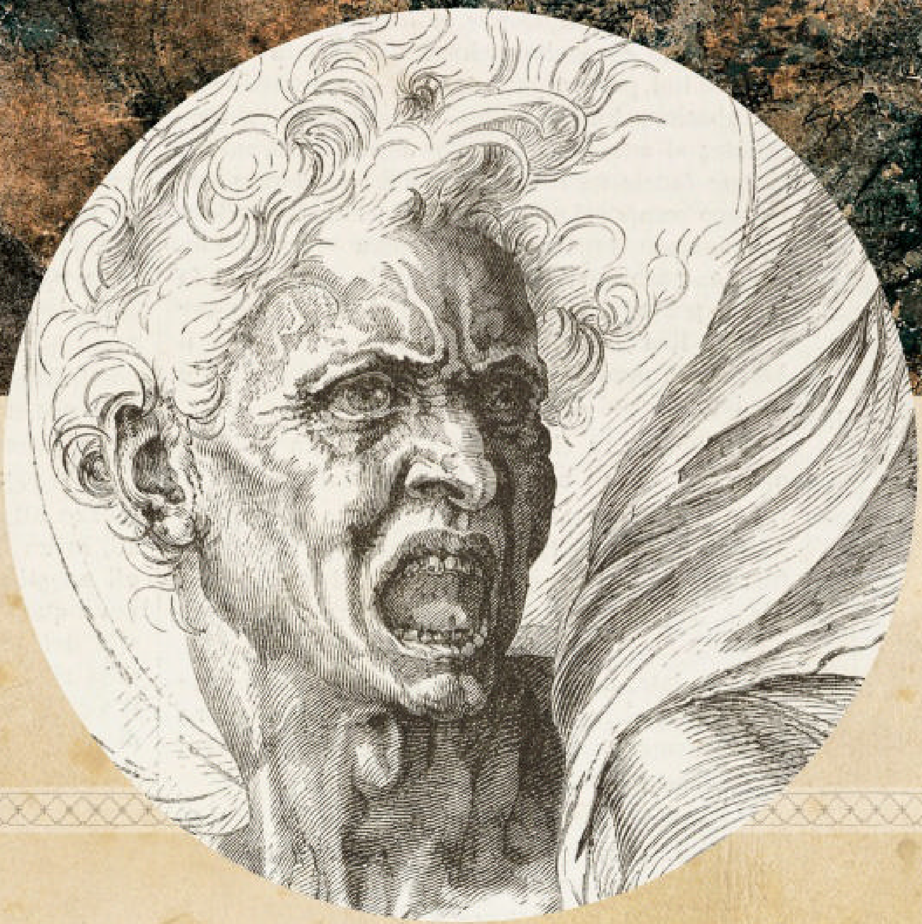


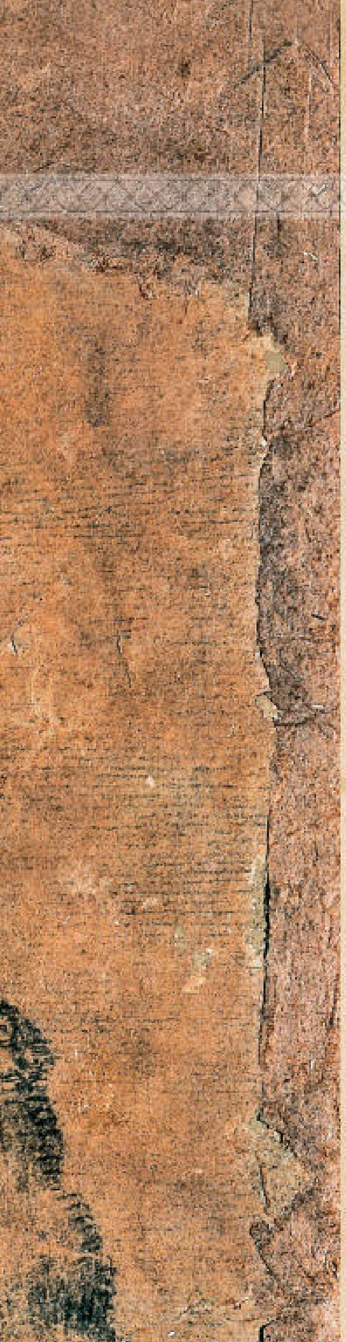
▲
“A BOY BITTEN BY A CRAWFISH,” BY SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA, CIRCA 1554. MUSEO DI CAPODIMONTE, NAPLES

MONDADORI/ALBUM

“THE DAMNED SOUL,” ENGRAVING OF A DRAWING BY MICHELANGELO. BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA, MILAN ▶

VENERANDA BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA/DEAGOSTINI PICTURE LIBRARY/SCALA, FLORENCE



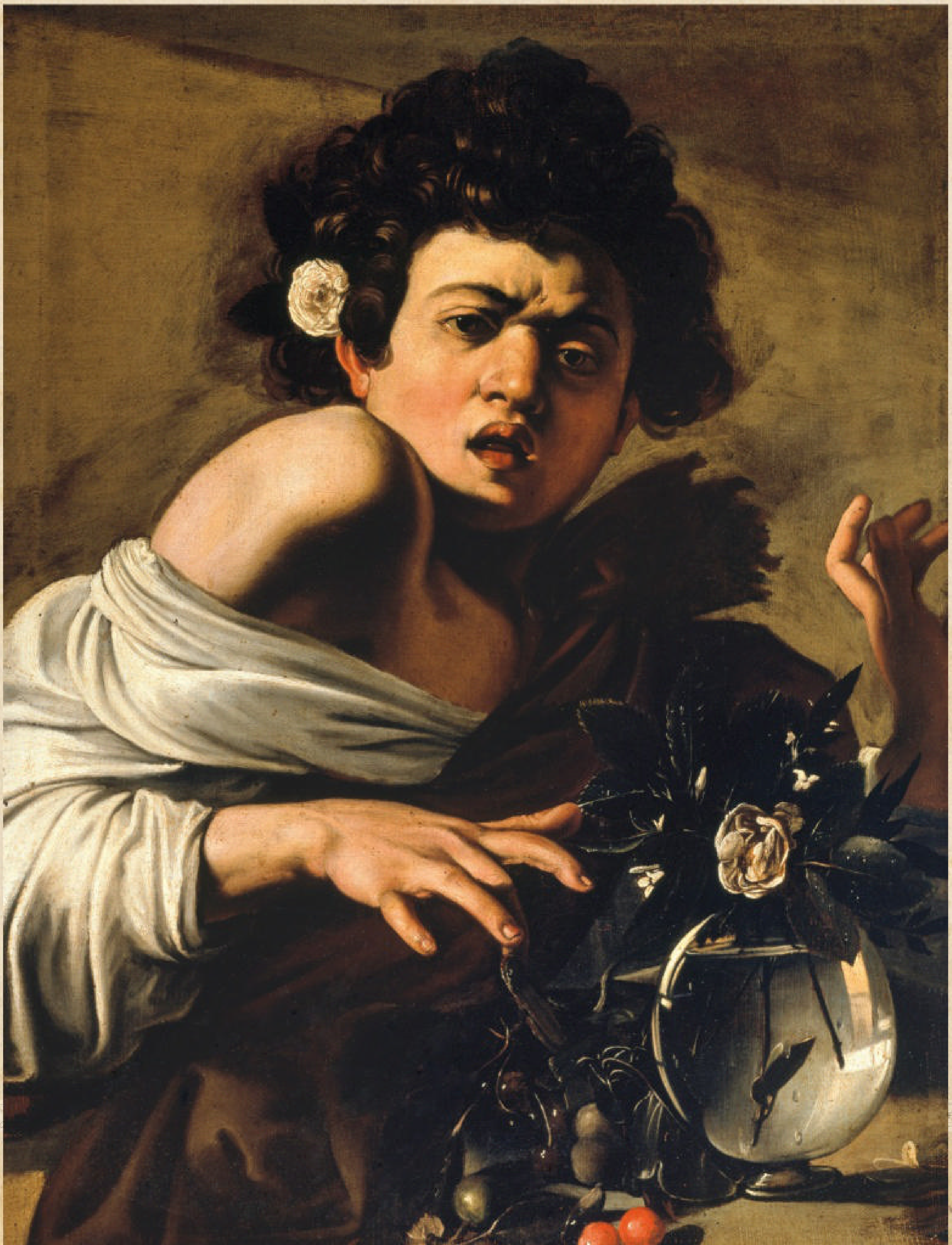


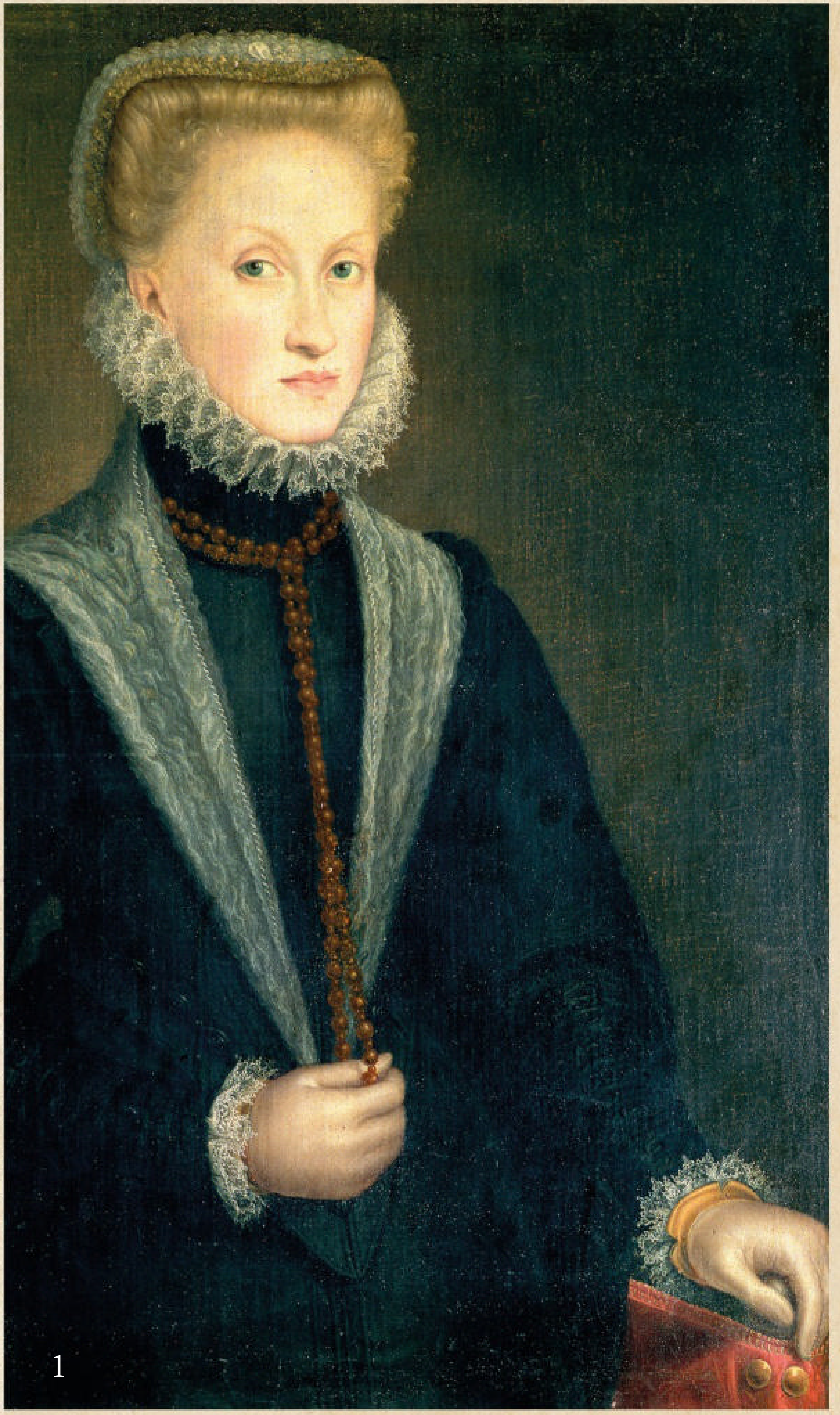
TEACHERS AND IMITATORS

IN 1562 a friend of Michelangelo wrote to Duke Cosimo I de' Medici of Florence enclosing one of Sofonisba's sketches, a work titled "A Boy Bitten by a Crawfish" (left). The work came about, he explained, "because Michelangelo, having seen her drawing of a laughing girl, said he would like to see a weeping boy, this being more difficult. So she sent him this, a portrait of her brother whom she studiously made to cry." Sofonisba would have been familiar with the works of Michelangelo, who created works with similar emotion. The relationship between the young woman and aged genius was conducted via letters, supervised by her father. Despite the limitations of her encounters as a woman, the effect of her drawing was profound: Forty years later, its gestures and expression inspired one of Caravaggio's most expressive works (below). ■

"BOY BITTEN BY A LIZARD," BY CARAVAGGIO, CA 1595. FONDAZIONE ROBERTO LONGHI, FLORENCE

ALBUM/AKG/RABATTI & DOMINGIE

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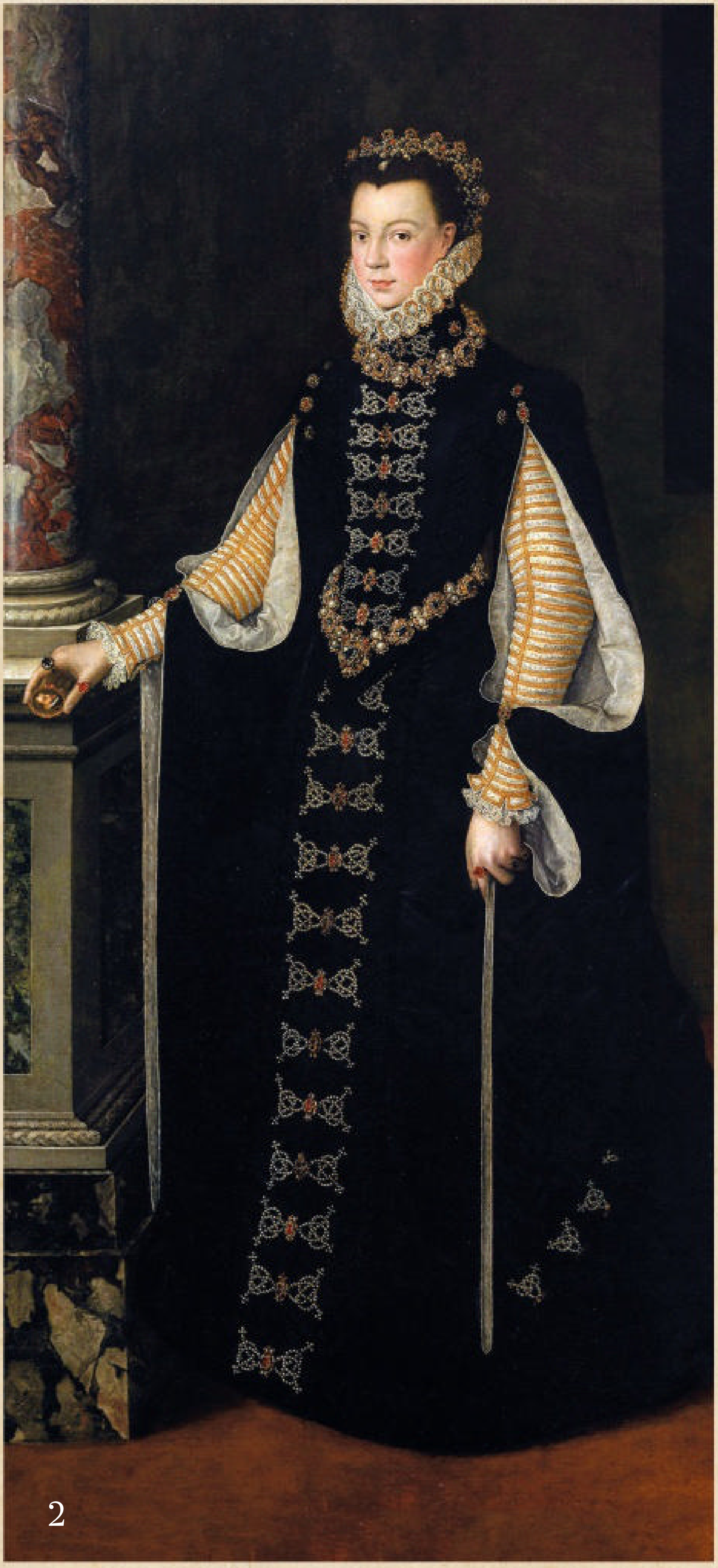
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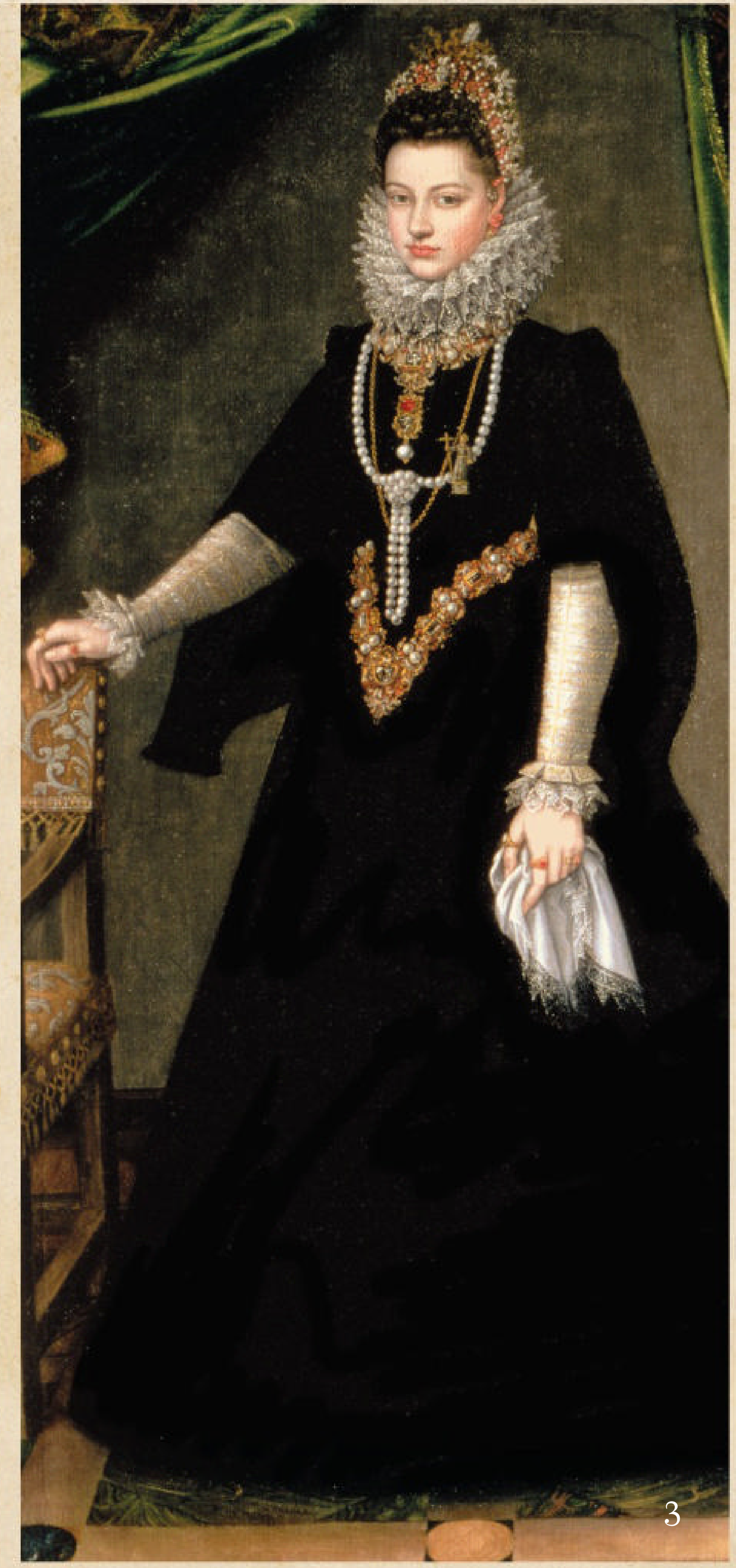
LIFE AMONG KINGS AND QUEENS

A 1559 TREATY between Spain and France profoundly changed two women's lives: Under the terms of the peace, French princess Elizabeth (Isabel, in Spain) of Valois was wed to Philip II of Spain and traveled at age 14 to a new life in Madrid. Sofonisba (who was 27 years old) was employed as her companion and royal portraitist. Over 14 years, Sofonisba gained the trust of the royal family, especially the king and queen. Sofonisba's royal portraits are more formal than her other works but still manage to convey warmth. Wearing black predominated at the Spanish court, as a show of austerity. After Isabel's death, Philip took a new wife, Anna of Austria, whom Sofonisba also painted. ■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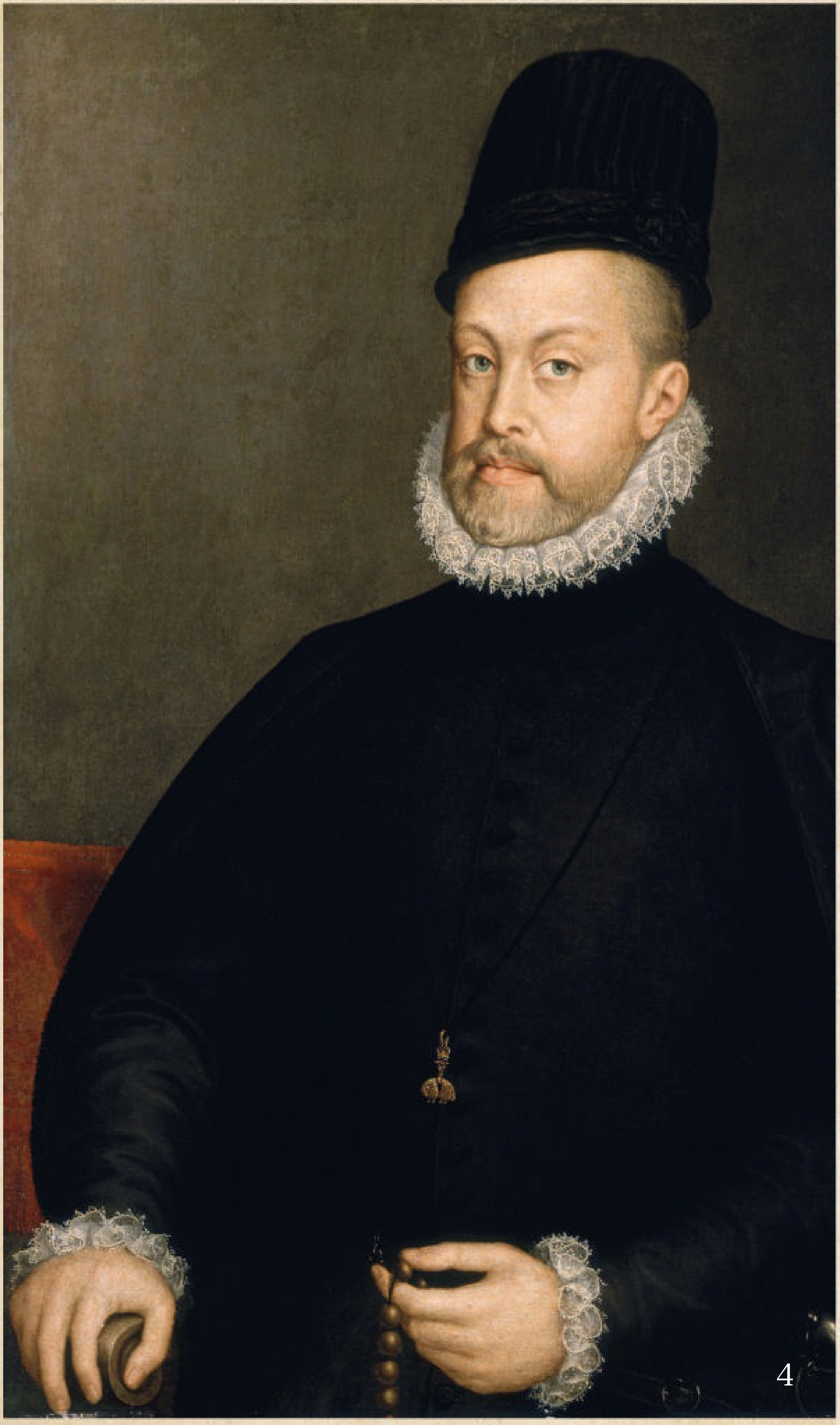
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1. Anna of Austria After Queen Isabel's death in 1568, Philip wed Anna of Austria. This 1573 portrait was once attributed to Alonso Sánchez Coello but is now known to be by Sofonisba. It reconciles beauty and modesty, austerity and finery. Prado Museum, Madrid

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

2. Isabel of Valois Sofonisba painted this portrait in the early 1560s. The teenaged Queen Isabel holds a small portrait of her husband, Philip II. Her dress is dark yet adorned with rubies and diamonds that glitter discreetly. Prado Museum, Madrid

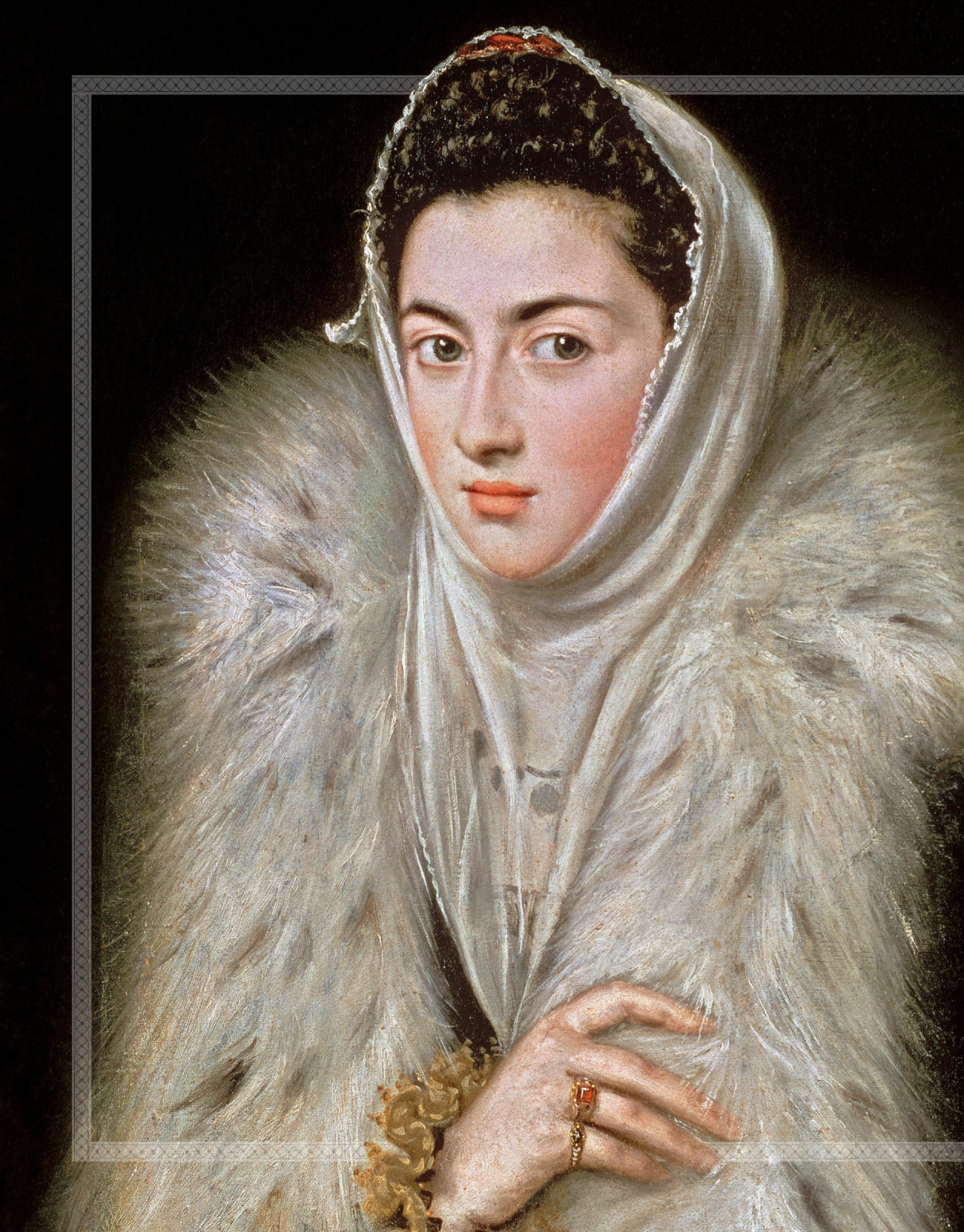
ALBUM

3. Isabella C. Eugenia Experts disagree as to who painted this portrait of Philip and Isabel's daughter. Dated to 1586, it postdates Sofonisba's departure from the court. The style, however, does not match that of the official painter, Sánchez Coello. Prado Museum, Madrid

BRIDGEMAN

4. King Philip II Sofonisba's 1565 portrait originally depicted the king in a wide, showy cape. In 1573 Queen Anna ordered it to be repainted, to present Philip's dress austerely, as shown here, and to complement her own portrait (far left). Prado Museum, Madrid

ALBUM/ORONOZ

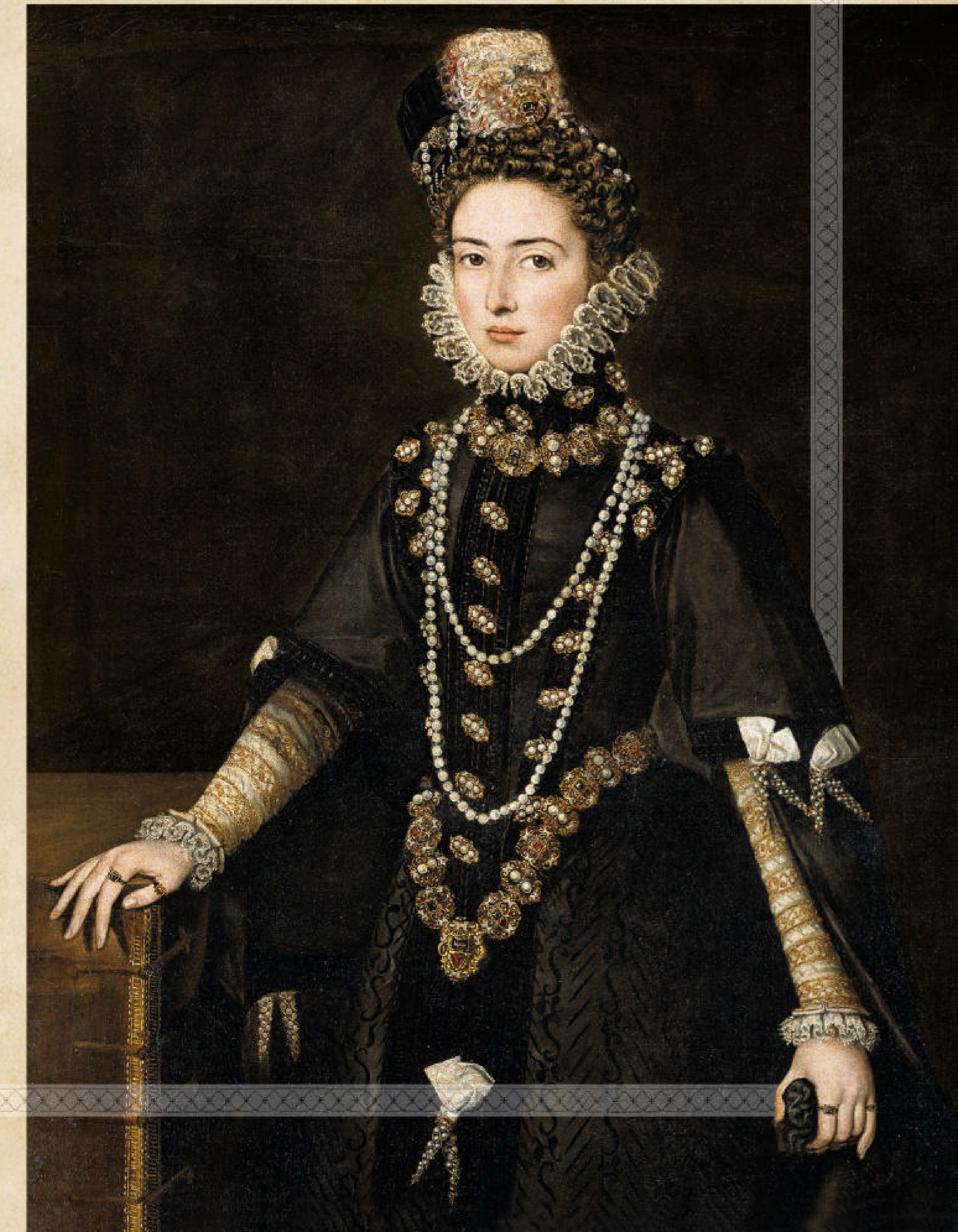


MYSTERY ARTIST, MYSTERY WOMAN

FOR MANY years the painting "Lady in a Fur Wrap" (left) was attributed to El Greco, the Crete-born artist who lived in Spain. Reflecting an awareness that Sofonisba Anguissola's paintings had often been wrongly attributed to male painters, historians have suggested this portrait was painted by her. In 2019 a joint study by Pollok House in Glasgow—the painting's owners—and the Prado Museum in Madrid concluded that "Lady in a Fur Wrap" is not by El Greco or Sofonisba, but by Spanish court painter Alonso Sánchez Coello. Although many historians accept this new attribution, others continue to insist that the painter was indeed Sofonisba, and that her sitter (whose identity is also unconfirmed) was the infanta Catalina Micaela. This assertion brings another painting under the spotlight: The portrait (below) of Princess Catalina. The Prado attributes the work to Sánchez Coello while acknowledging that others attribute it to Sofonisba. In 1584, when the picture was painted, the infanta left Madrid for Savoy, not far from Genoa, where Sofonisba was then living. ■

◄ **"LADY IN A FUR WRAP,"** ATTRIBUTED TO SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA AND ALONSO SÁNCHEZ COELLO, 1577-79. POLLOK HOUSE, GLASGOW, SCOTLAND

ALBUM/ORONOZ



THE INFANTA CATALINA MICAELA, ► CIRCA 1584. ATTRIBUTED TO SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA AND ALONSO SÁNCHEZ COELLO. PRADO MUSEUM, MADRID

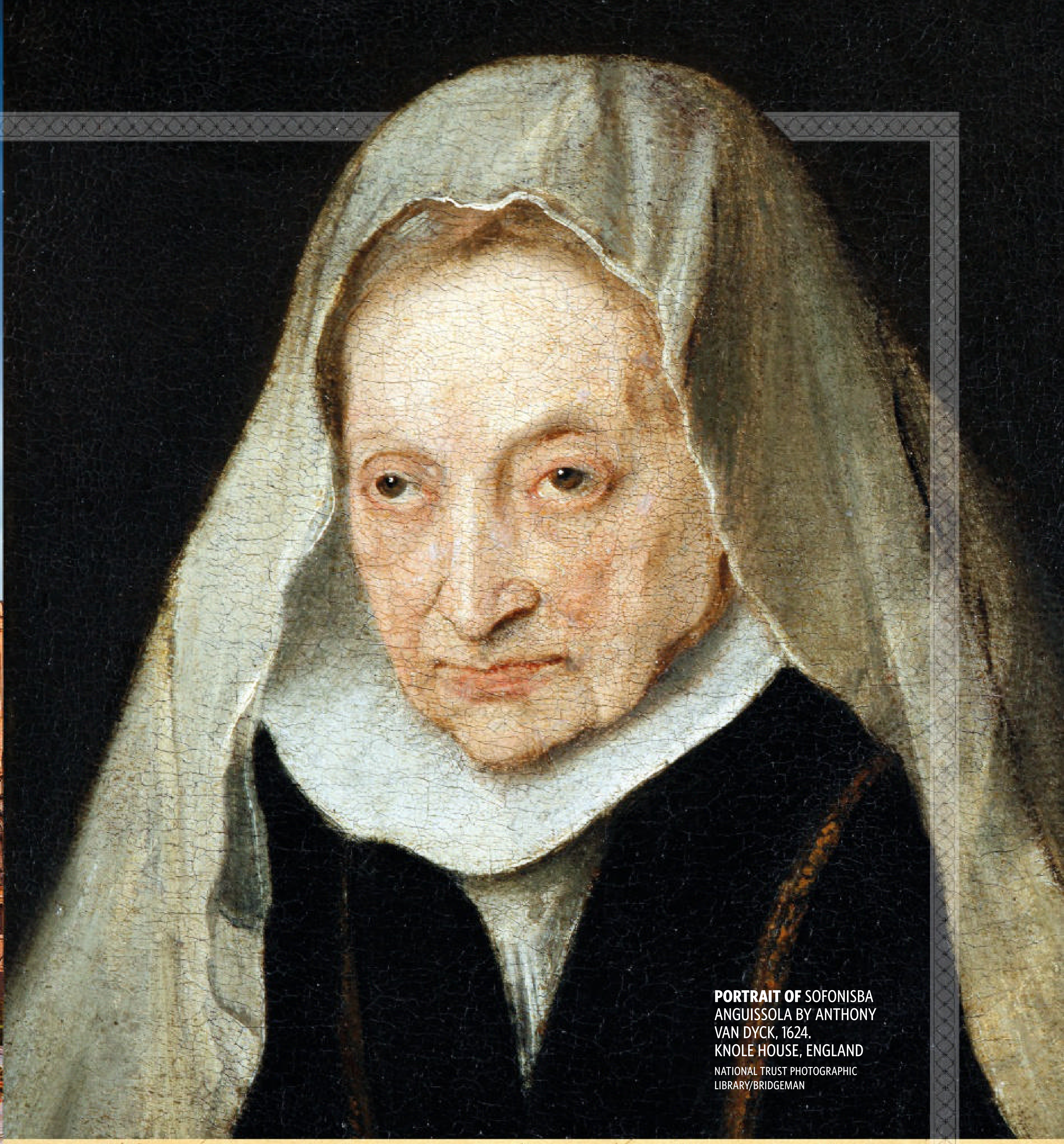
ARTEFACT/ALAMY

LIFE AND LEGACY

SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA lived to the advanced age of 93. She died in 1625 in Palermo, Sicily, after long outliving the siblings whom she had depicted with such freshness and joy. The young baroque artist Anthony Van Dyck visited her sometime in the year before her death; he was intrigued to meet a woman who had painted the "old" king of Spain and corresponded with Michelangelo. He later painted her portrait (opposite). Alongside a line drawing of the elderly Sofonisba, Van Dyck describes meeting her in the pages of his sketchbook: "She recounted how she had been a miraculous painter from life, and the greatest torment she had known was not being able to paint anymore, because of her failing eyesight. Her hand was still steady, without any trembling." ■

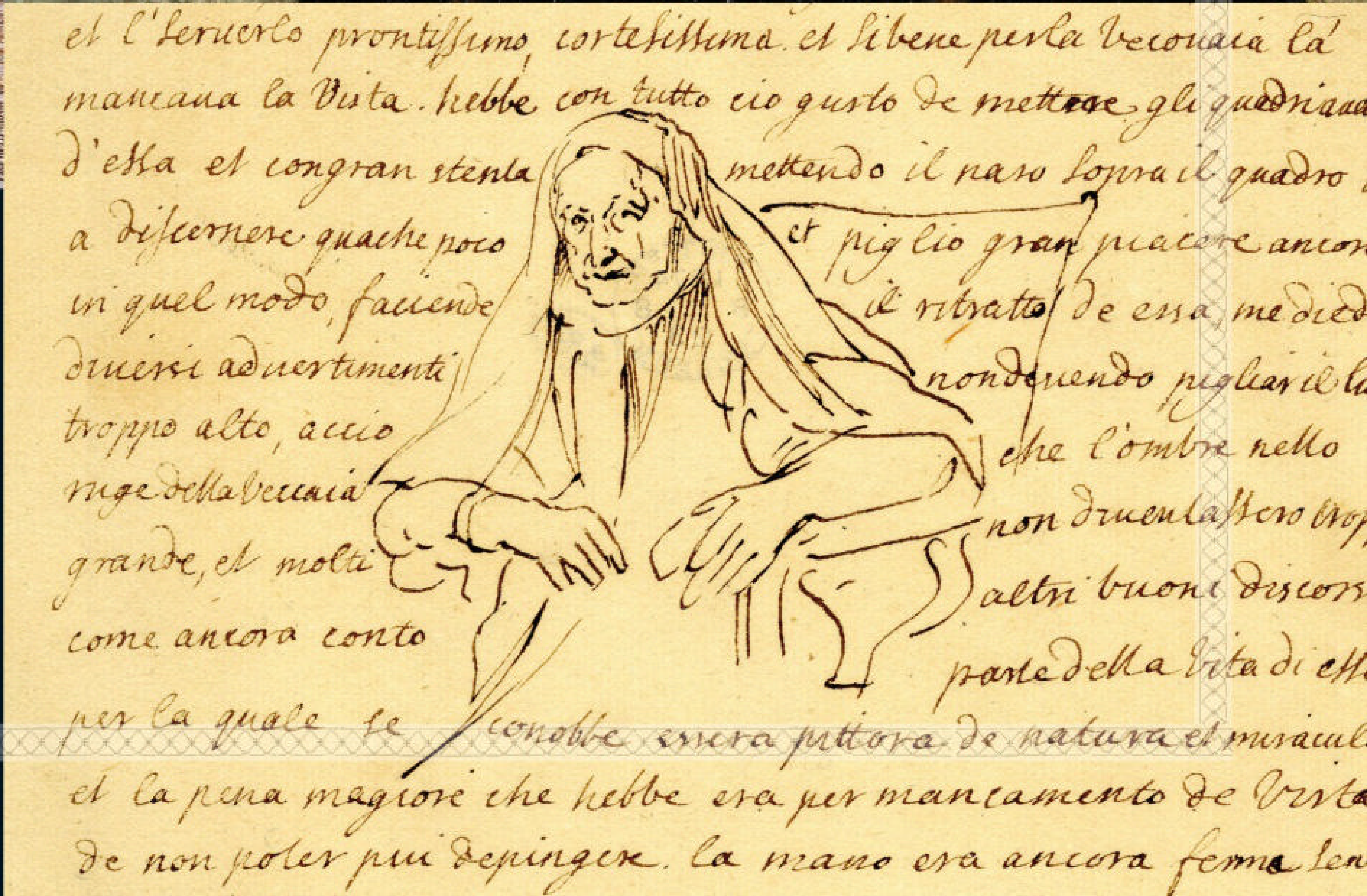
THE CATHEDRAL of Palermo, Sicily, the city where Sofonisba died in 1625. A major cultural and religious hub, Palermo was ruled by Spain until the early 1700s.

ANTONINO BARTUCCIO/FOTOTECA 9X12



PORTRAIT OF SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA BY ANTHONY VAN DYCK, 1624. KNOLE HOUSE, ENGLAND

NATIONAL TRUST PHOTOGRAPHIC LIBRARY/BRIDGEMAN



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et la pena magiore che hebbe era per mancamento de Vista
de non poter piu depingere. la mano era ancora ferma sen

VAN DYCK'S SKETCHBOOK SHOWING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS 1624 VISIT WITH SOFONISBA. BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM/ SCALA, FLORENCE

TREASURES OF NUNALLEQ

THREAT OF THE THAW

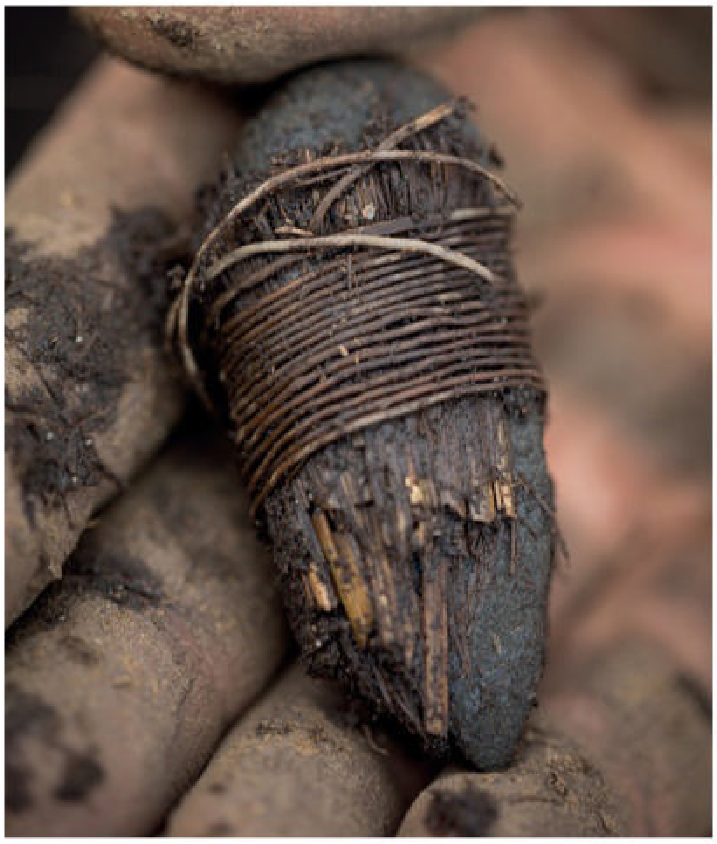
As the seas rise and Alaska's permafrost melts, the history of the Yup'ik people is in danger as archaeological sites and artifacts become exposed to the ravages of time and climate change.

EDITORS OF NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

HISTORY AT RISK

Many of the artifacts recovered from the Nunalleq site are made from antler, wood, and ivory, materials that are preserved under the tundra but decay quickly after exposure.

KIERAN DODDS/NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC IMAGE COLLECTION



A WELL-PRESERVED FISHING LINE FRESHLY UNCOVERED AT THE NUNALLEQ SITE IN COASTAL ALASKA DATES TO THE 1600S.

ERIKA LARSEN/NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC IMAGE COLLECTION

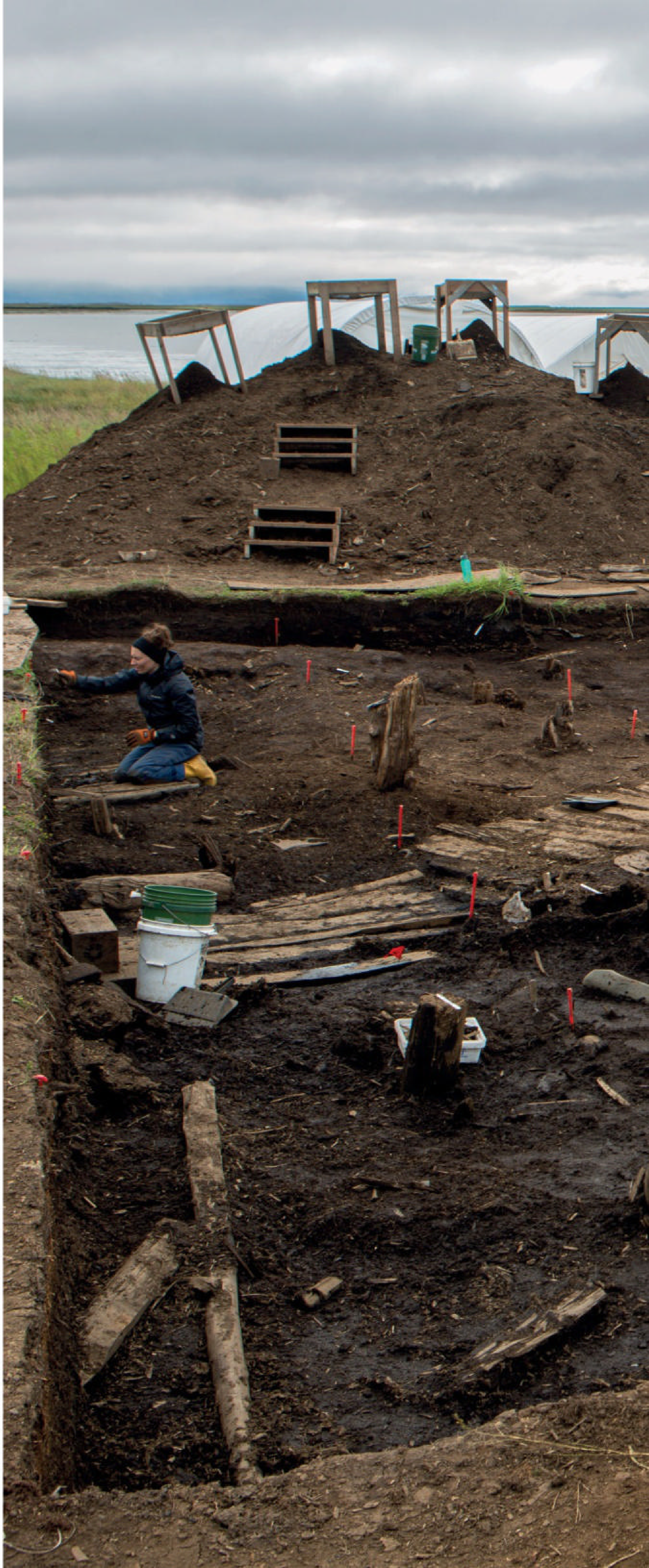
The archaeological site of Nunalleq on the southwest coast of Alaska preserves a fateful moment, frozen in time. The muddy square of earth is full of everyday things that the Indigenous Yup'ik people used to survive and to celebrate life here, all left just as they lay when a deadly attack came almost four centuries ago.

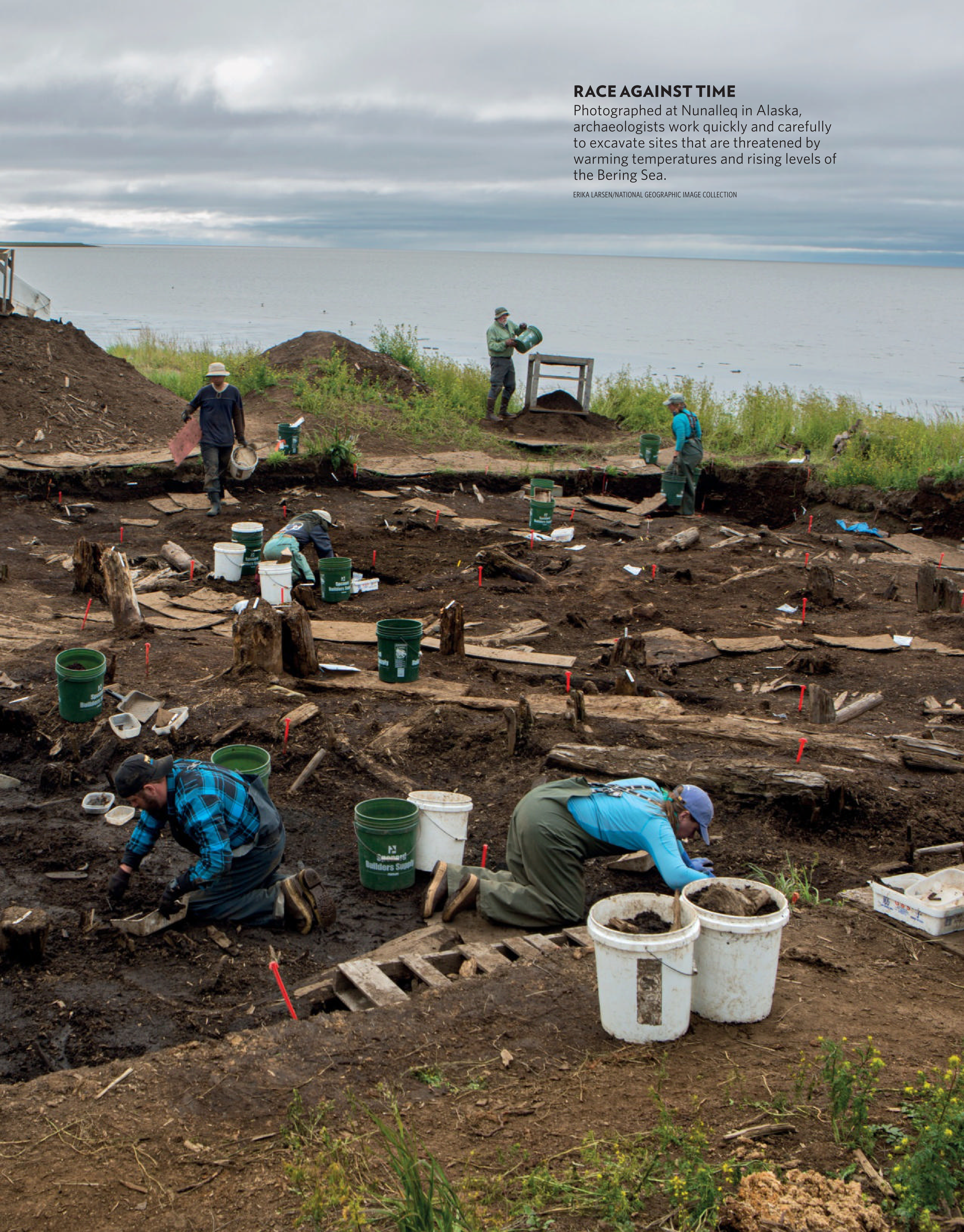
As is often the case in archaeology, a tragedy of long ago is a boon to modern science. Archaeologists have recovered 100,000 artifacts at Nunalleq, from typical eating utensils to extraordinary things such as wooden ritual masks, ivory tattoo needles, pieces of finely calibrated sea kayaks, and a belt of caribou teeth. Beyond the sheer quantity and variety, the objects are astonishingly well preserved, having been frozen in the ground since about 1660.

The ground's frigid state even preserved rare organic material such as grass ropes, salmonberry seeds, head lice, and grass strands woven into baskets. "This grass was cut when Shakespeare walked the Earth," observed lead archaeologist Rick Knecht, of the University of Aberdeen in Scotland.

Land of the Yup'ik

Archaeologists believe the Yup'ik people's ancestors originated in eastern Siberia and Asia. They first crossed the Bering Sea to North America around 10,000 years ago and gradually moved into the coastal areas of western Alaska.





RACE AGAINST TIME

Photographed at Nunalleq in Alaska, archaeologists work quickly and carefully to excavate sites that are threatened by warming temperatures and rising levels of the Bering Sea.

ERIKA LARSEN/NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC IMAGE COLLECTION

ULUS **ARE TRADITIONAL HUNTING KNIVES USED FOR CENTURIES BY THE YUP'IK PEOPLE TO CLEAN FISH AND SKIN GAME.**

ERIKA LARSEN/NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC IMAGE COLLECTION

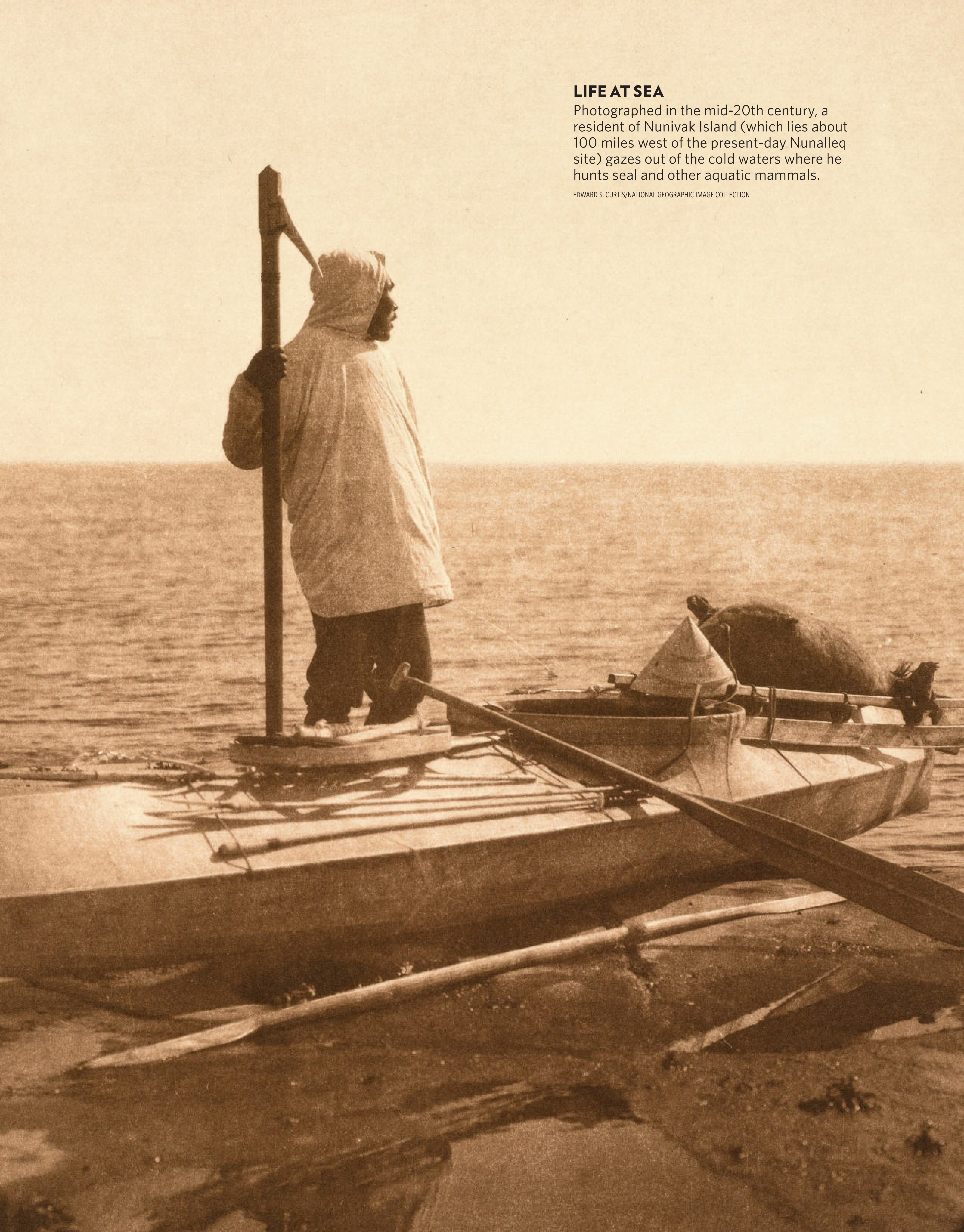
Around A.D. 1400 communities moved up the coastal rivers, including the Yukon, to form settlements farther inland.

Rather than the frigid northern lands of what is now Alaska, the climate in these areas was milder. The waterways supplied the Yup'ik with food; from the shore or within their kayaks, hunters used harpoons or bows and arrows to catch salmon and hunt mammals. During the year, people would travel to different seasonal camps to harvest different food sources. In the colder months, they would shelter in structures made out of earth.

It was around the perimeter of what was once one of these large sod structures that Knecht and his team of archaeologists made an astonishing find. They uncovered traces of a centuries-old fire that was used to smoke out the residents—some 50 people, probably an alliance of extended families, who lived here when they weren't out hunting, fishing, and gathering plants. No one, it seems, was spared.

BOW, ARROWS, QUIVER, AND CASE
19TH CENTURY, YUP'IK PEOPLE, YUKON RIVER DELTA, ALASKA

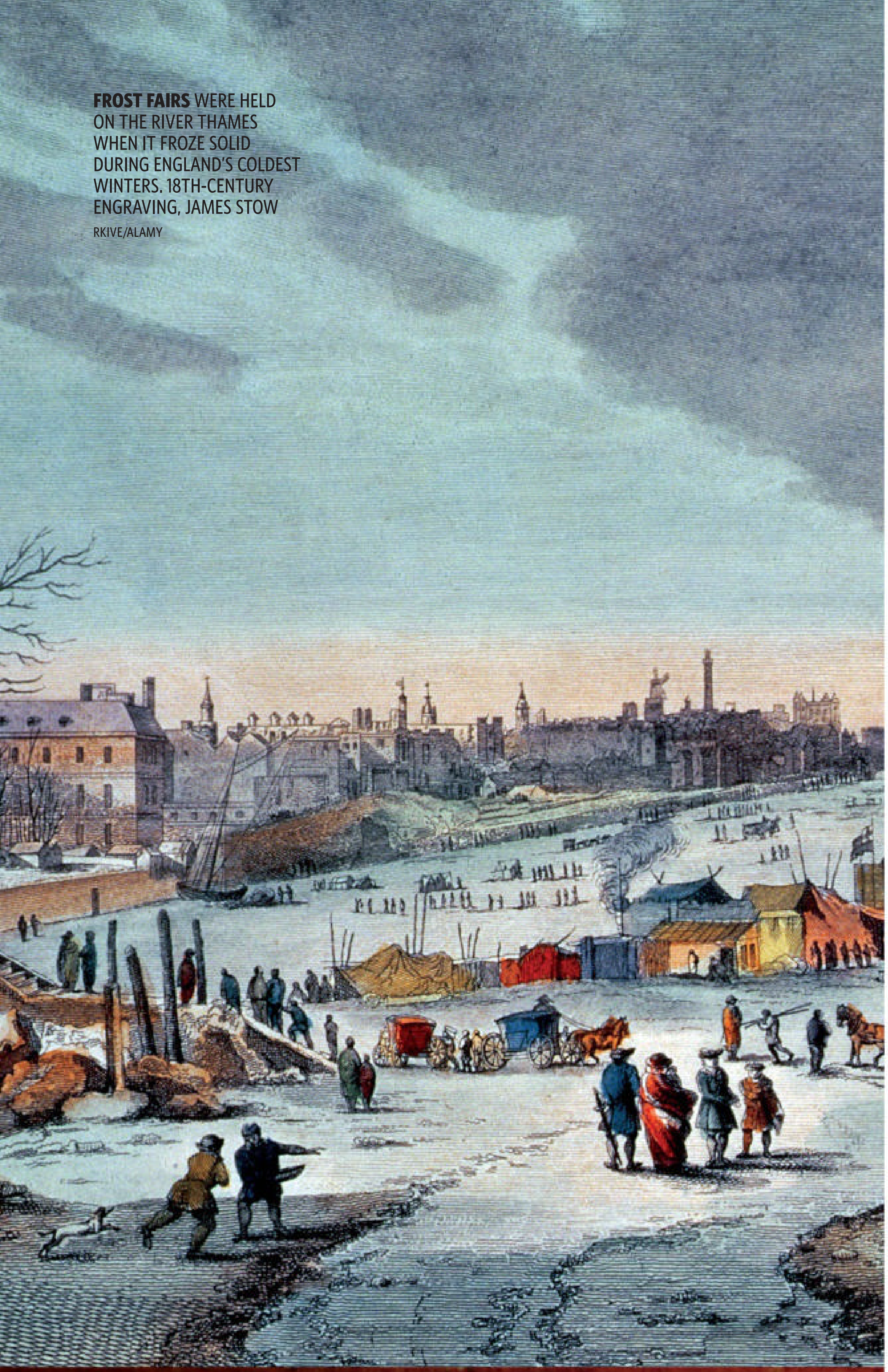
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION



LIFE AT SEA

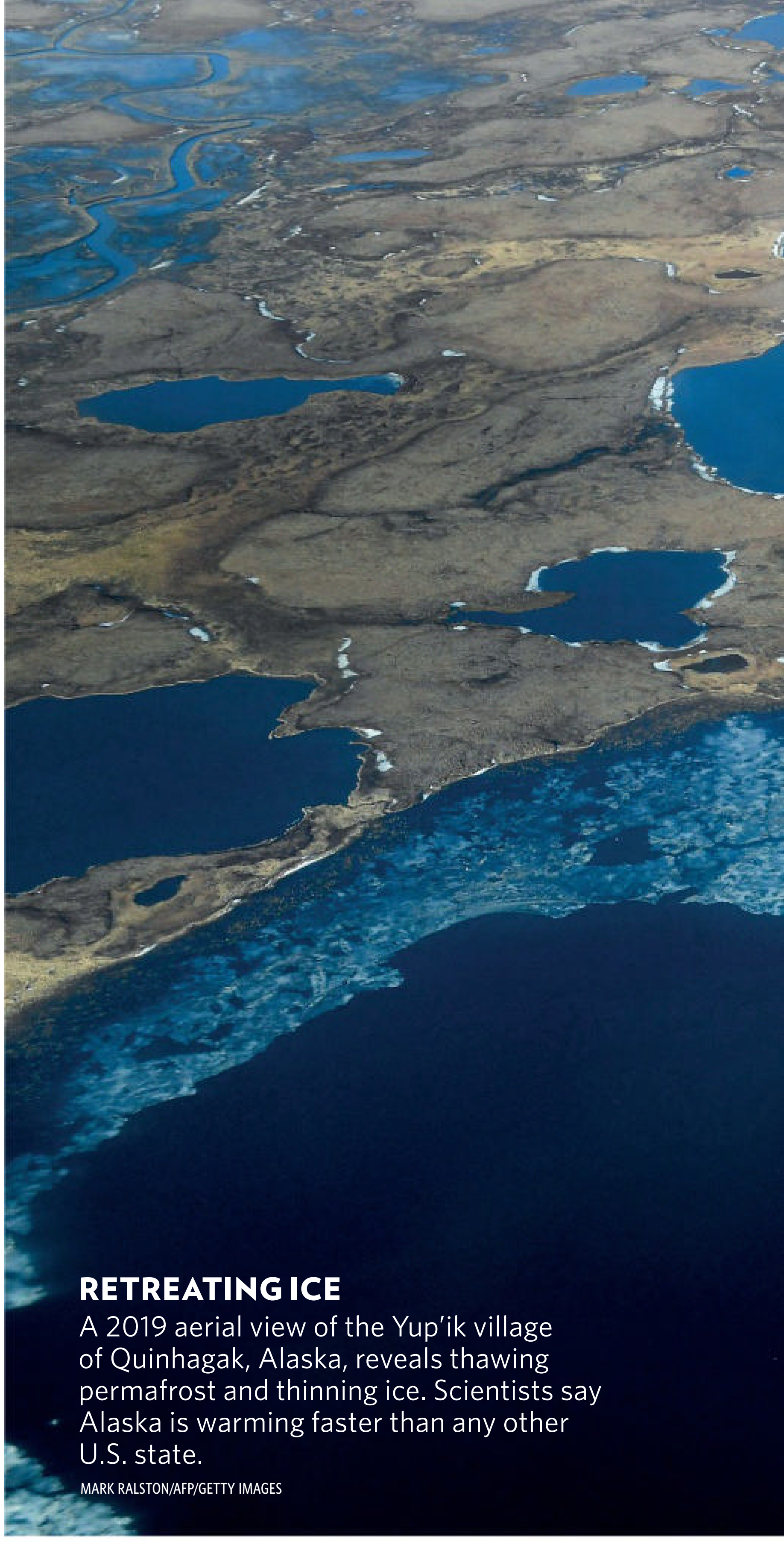
Photographed in the mid-20th century, a resident of Nunivak Island (which lies about 100 miles west of the present-day Nunalleq site) gazes out of the cold waters where he hunts seal and other aquatic mammals.

EDWARD S. CURTIS/NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC IMAGE COLLECTION



FROST FAIRS WERE HELD ON THE RIVER THAMES WHEN IT FROZE SOLID DURING ENGLAND'S COLDEST WINTERS. 18TH-CENTURY ENGRAVING, JAMES STOW

RKIVE/ALAMY



RETREATING ICE

A 2019 aerial view of the Yup'ik village of Quinhagak, Alaska, reveals thawing permafrost and thinning ice. Scientists say Alaska is warming faster than any other U.S. state.

MARK RALSTON/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

COLDER CLIMATES

LASTING FOR CENTURIES, the so-called Little Ice Age was a period of colder temperatures, mainly experienced in the Northern Hemisphere. It began in the 1300s when temperatures around the world dropped, and glaciers grew. The initial changes were gradual, with a steep decline following in the late 1500s. Climates cooled by more than three degrees Fahrenheit (roughly two degrees Celsius). Major bodies of water, including the Baltic Sea and London's River Thames, repeatedly froze over. From Europe to North America to Asia, growing seasons were disrupted, leading to food shortages exacerbated by the colder weather. Archaeologists believe that the violence at the Nunalleq site was a result of tensions caused by the climate change.

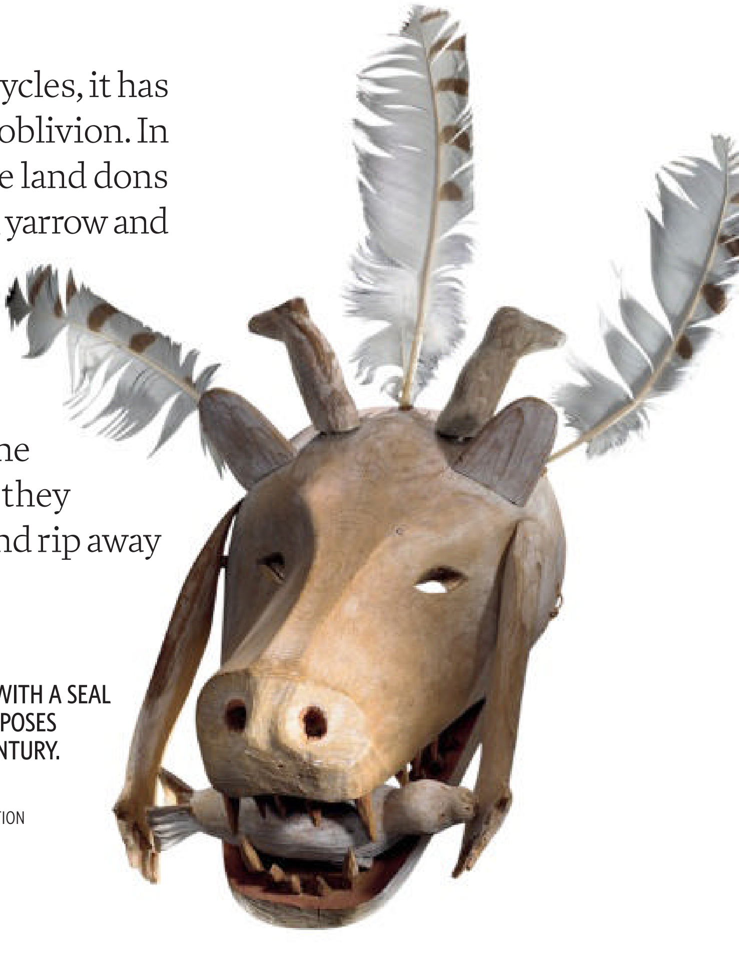
Archaeologists unearthed the remains of someone, likely a woman, who appears to have succumbed to smoke inhalation as she tried to dig an escape tunnel under a wall. Skeletons of women, children, and elders were found together, face down in the mud, suggesting that they were captured and killed.

Knecht sees a link between the destruction at the site and the old tales that modern Yup'iks remember. Oral tradition preserves memories of a time historians call the Bow and Arrow Wars Days, when Yup'ik communities fought one another in bloody battles some time before Russian explorers arrived in Alaska in the 1700s. Nunalleq offers the first archaeological evidence, and the first firm date, for this frightful period, which affected several generations of Yup'ik.

Knecht believes the attacks were the result of climate change—a 550-year chilling of the planet now known as the Little Ice Age—that coincided with Nunalleq's occupation. The coldest years in Alaska, in the 1600s, must have been a desperate time, with raids probably launched to steal food. "Whenever you get rapid change, there's a lot of disruption in the seasonal cycles of subsistence," says Knecht. "If you get an extreme, like a Little Ice Age—or like now—changes can occur faster than people can adjust."

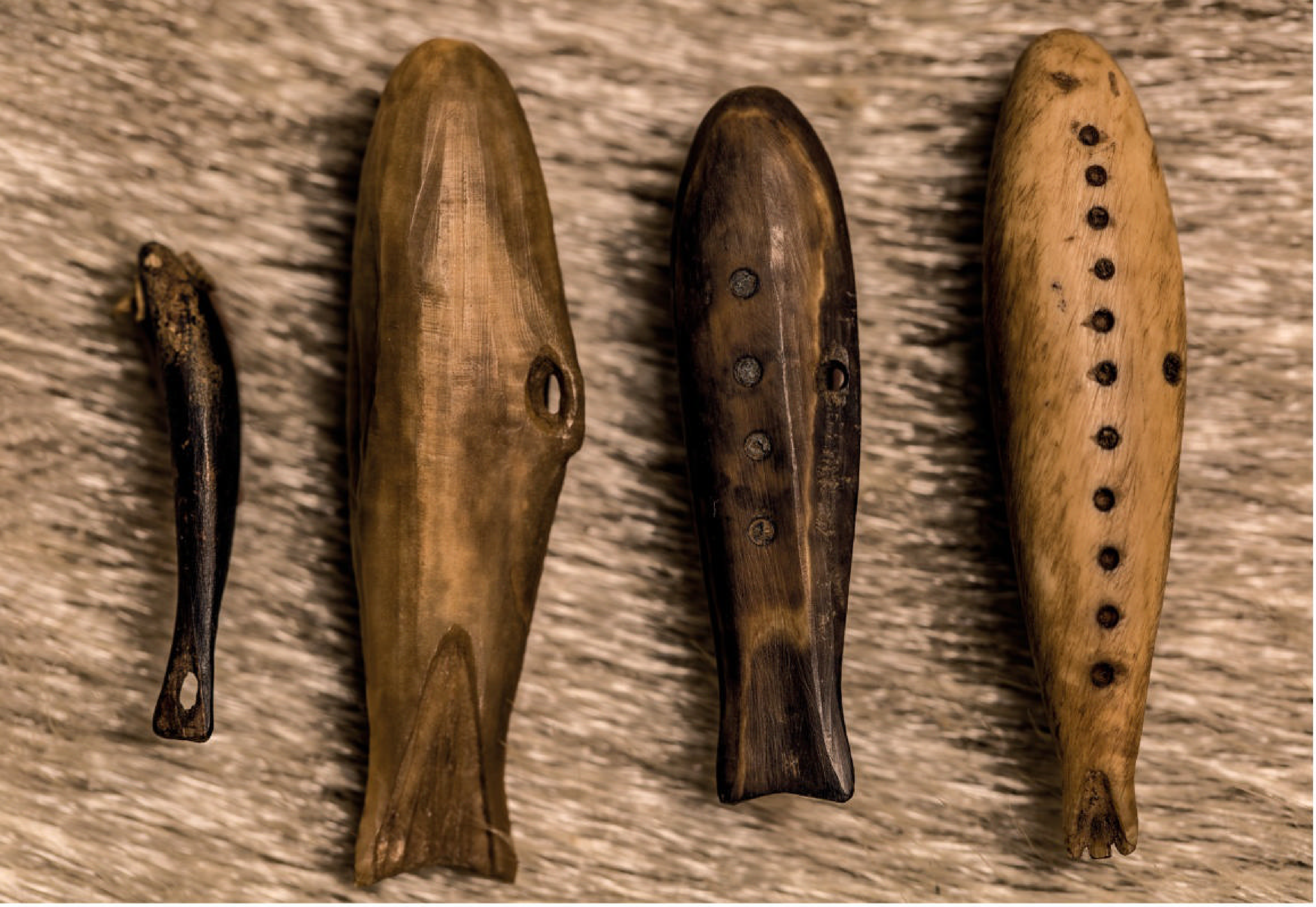
Retreating Ice

For centuries, Yup'ik people on both sides of the Bering Sea have made the Arctic tundra their home, but today's unpredictable and increasingly violent weather has not only thrown off the rhythm of subsistence hunting cycles, it has also driven Nunalleq to the brink of oblivion. In summer everything looks fine as the land dons its perennial robe of white-flowering yarrow and sprigs of cotton grass that light up like candles when the morning sun hits the tundra. The scene turns alarming come winter when the Bering Sea hurls vicious storms at the coast. If the waves get big enough, they crash across a narrow gravel beach and rip away at the remains of the site.



A WOODEN YUP'IK MASK DEPICTS AN ANIMAL WITH A SEAL CAUGHT IN ITS JAWS. MASKS SERVED SACRED PURPOSES AND WERE USED TO PETITION THE GODS. 19TH CENTURY. GOODNEWS BAY, ALASKA

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION



FISHERMEN'S FRIENDS

Resembling their modern equivalents used to fish today, ivory fishing lures (above) were among the centuries-old artifacts found at the Nunalleq site.

ERIKA LARSEN/NG IMAGE COLLECTION

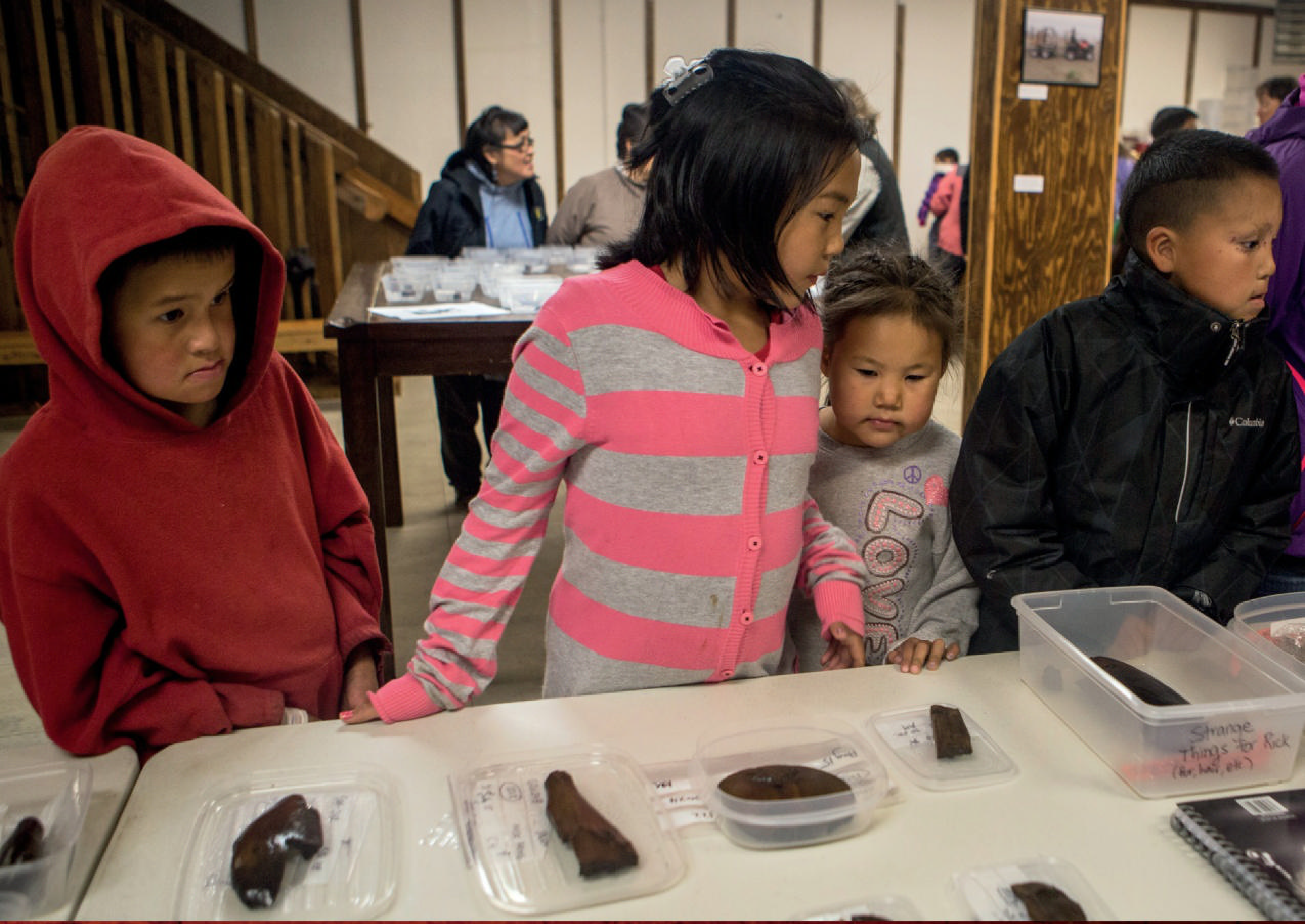
In Quinhagak, the modern Yup'ik village just four miles from Nunalleq, changes brought by the weird weather are a common topic of conversation. "Twenty years ago the elders began to say the ground was sinking," says Warren Jones, president of Qanirtuuq, the Yup'ik corporation that owns and manages the community's property. "The past 10 years or so it's been so bad everybody's noticed. We're boating in February. That's supposed to be the coldest month of the year."

The Arctic wasn't always like this, but global climate change is now hammering Earth's polar regions. The result is a disastrous loss of artifacts from little-known prehistoric cultures—like the one at Nunalleq—all along Alaska's shores and beyond. A massive thaw is exposing traces of past peoples and civilizations across the northern regions of the globe—from Neolithic bows and arrows in Switzerland to hiking staffs from the Viking age in Norway and lavishly appointed tombs of Scythian nomads in Siberia. So many sites are in danger that archaeologists are beginning to specialize in the rescue of once frozen artifacts.

In coastal Alaska archaeological sites are now threatened by a one-two punch. The first blow: average temperatures that have risen more than three degrees Fahrenheit in the past half century. As one balmy day follows another, the permafrost is thawing almost everywhere. When archaeologists began digging at Nunalleq in 2009, they hit frozen soil about 18 inches below the surface of the tundra. Today the ground is thawed three feet down. That means masterfully carved artifacts of caribou antler, driftwood, bone, and walrus ivory are emerging from the deep freeze that has preserved them in perfect condition. If not rescued, they immediately begin to deteriorate.

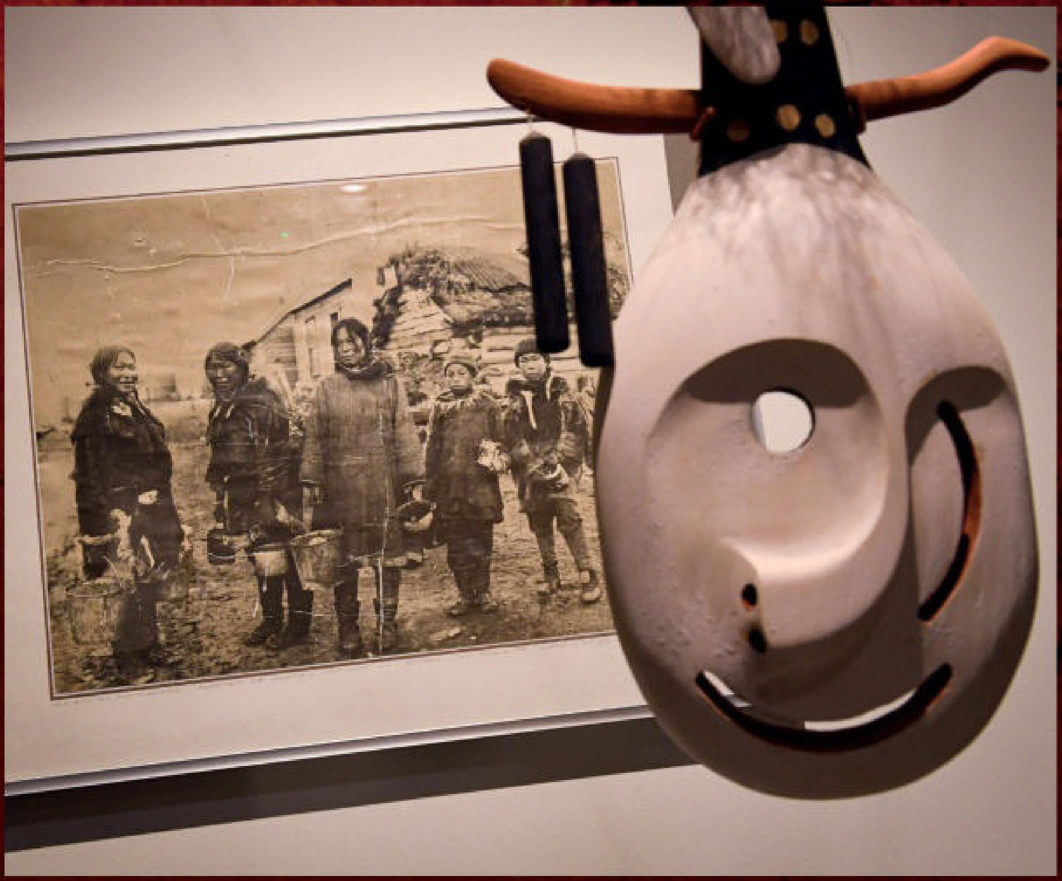
The knockout blow: rising seas. Since 1900 the global level of oceans has risen about eight inches, a figure that experts believe will continue to increase. It's a direct threat to coastal sites such as Nunalleq, which is doubly vulnerable to

A MASSIVE THAW IS EXPOSING TRACES OF PAST CIVILIZATIONS. SO MANY SITES ARE IN DANGER THAT ARCHAEOLOGISTS ARE SPECIALIZING IN THE RESCUE OF ONCE FROZEN ARTIFACTS.


Strange Things for Rick (Hair, bait, etc)

▲ **HERITAGE AND HISTORY.** AFTER THE END OF EACH ARCHAEOLOGICAL DIG SEASON, YUP'IK LOCALS VIEW THE LATEST FINDS FROM THE NUNALLEQ SITE.

ERIKA LARSEN/NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC IMAGE COLLECTION

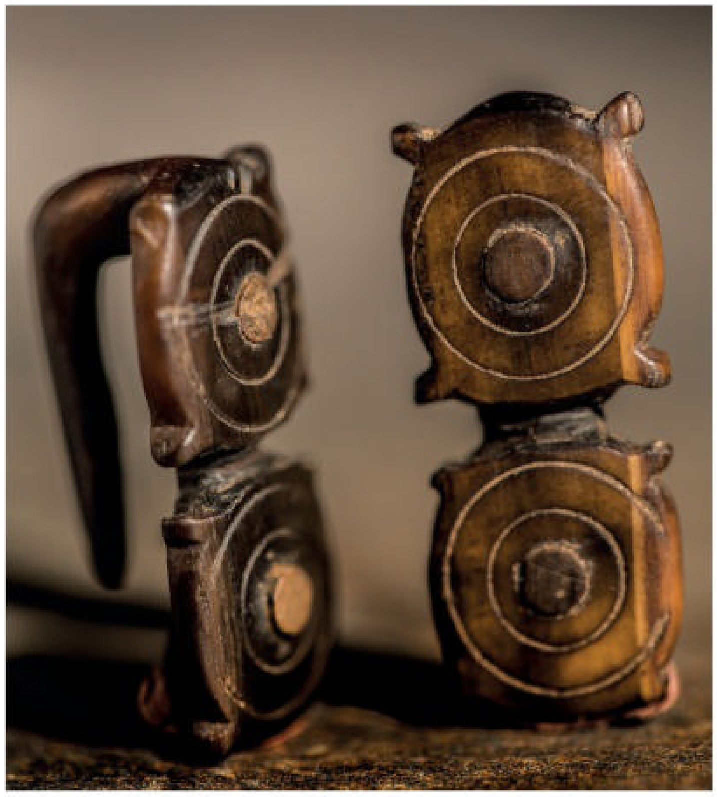


RECONNECTING WITH THE PAST

AT FIRST, Qanirtuuq chairperson Grace Hill opposed the excavation at Nunalleq because Yup'ik tradition says ancestors shouldn't be disturbed. She came to see the dig as a way to preserve Yup'ik culture and language. "I'm hoping this will get the kids interested in their past," she says. As artifacts were recovered from the site, Yup'ik people from the wider area around Quinhagak were able to see them close-up at the new culture and archaeology center. Artists also hold workshops there to demonstrate traditional arts and crafts, including mask making, hide sewing, drumming, and dance.

◀ **PHOTOGRAPHED** NEARLY A CENTURY AGO, AN IMAGE (LEFT) OF A GROUP OF YUP'IK LOCALS HANGS IN THE COMMUNITY CENTER IN BETHEL, ALASKA, ON THE YUKON DELTA.

MARK RALSTON/AFP/GETTY IMAGES



FINELY CRAFTED JEWELRY, SUCH AS THESE IVORY EARRINGS (ABOVE), WAS A COMMON FIND AMONG THE ARTIFACTS FROM THE NUNALLEQ SITE.

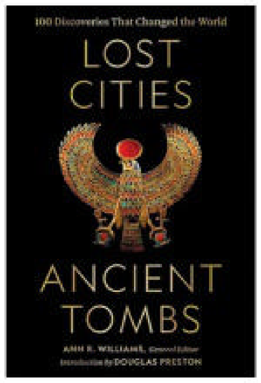
ERIKA LARSEN/NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC IMAGE COLLECTION

wave damage now that the thawing permafrost is making the land sink. "One good winter storm and we could lose this whole site," says Knecht.

He speaks from experience. Since the start of the excavation, the relentless action of the sea has torn about 35 feet from the edge of the site. The winter after the 2010 dig was particularly brutal. Residents of Quinhagak remember huge chunks of ice slamming into the coast. By the time Knecht and his crew returned, the entire area they had excavated was gone. Since then, the sense of urgency has only increased.

Archaeology's potential to inspire an appreciation for the past is what motivated Jones to start the dig. When wooden artifacts began washing up on the beach, he invited Knecht to assess the eroding site, then helped convince the village's board of directors that excavating Nunalleq was a good idea. Their meeting grew into a unique collaboration in which the community and the visiting archaeologists work as partners.

Jones is proud of the partnership that made this possible. He also looks forward to more discoveries at the site and sees a promising future for the center. "I want our kids who are in college now to run [the center] and be proud that it's ours."



100 Discoveries That Changed the World
LOST CITIES
ANCIENT TOMBS
ANN R. WILLIAMS, General Editor
Introduction by DOUGLAS PRESTON

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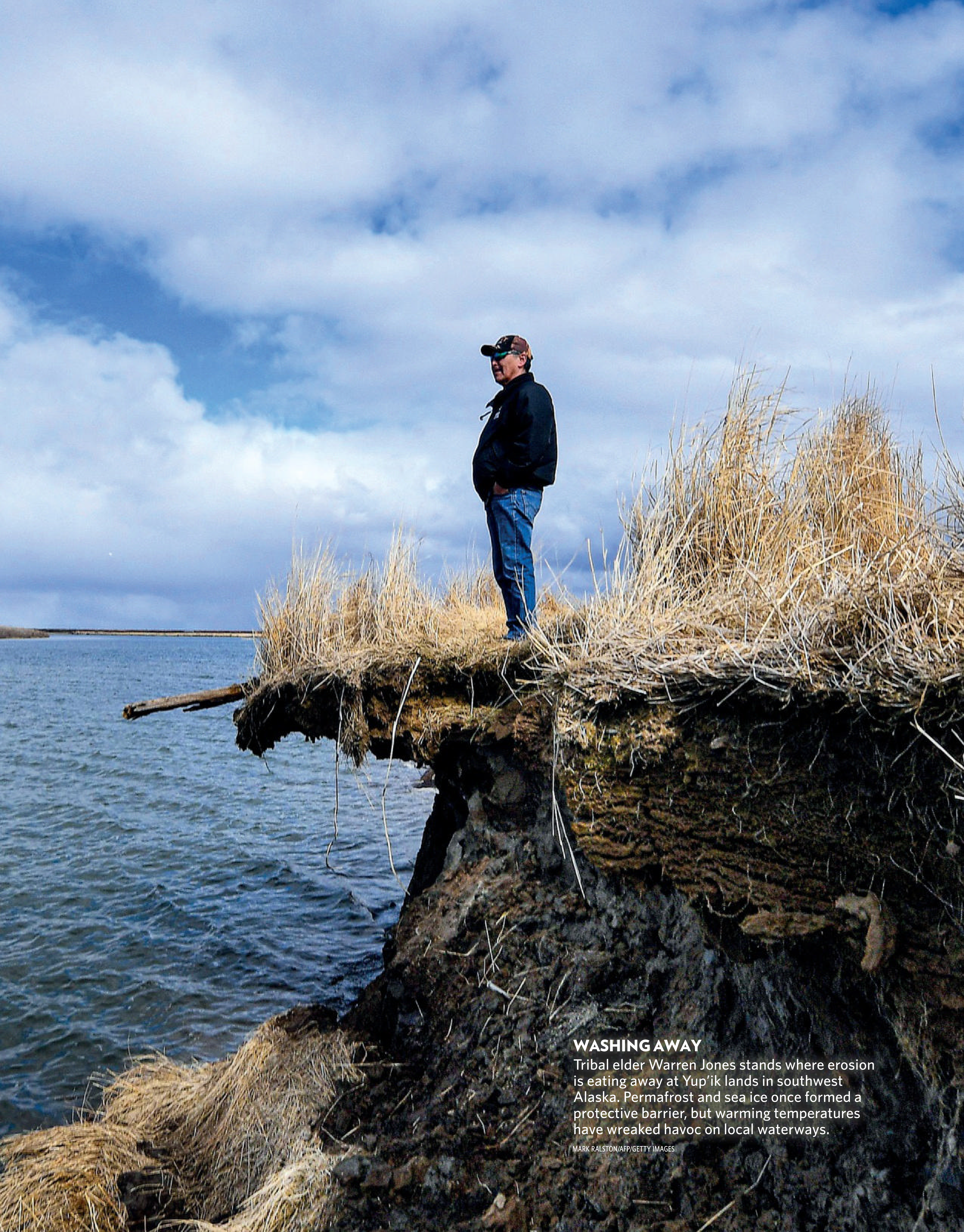
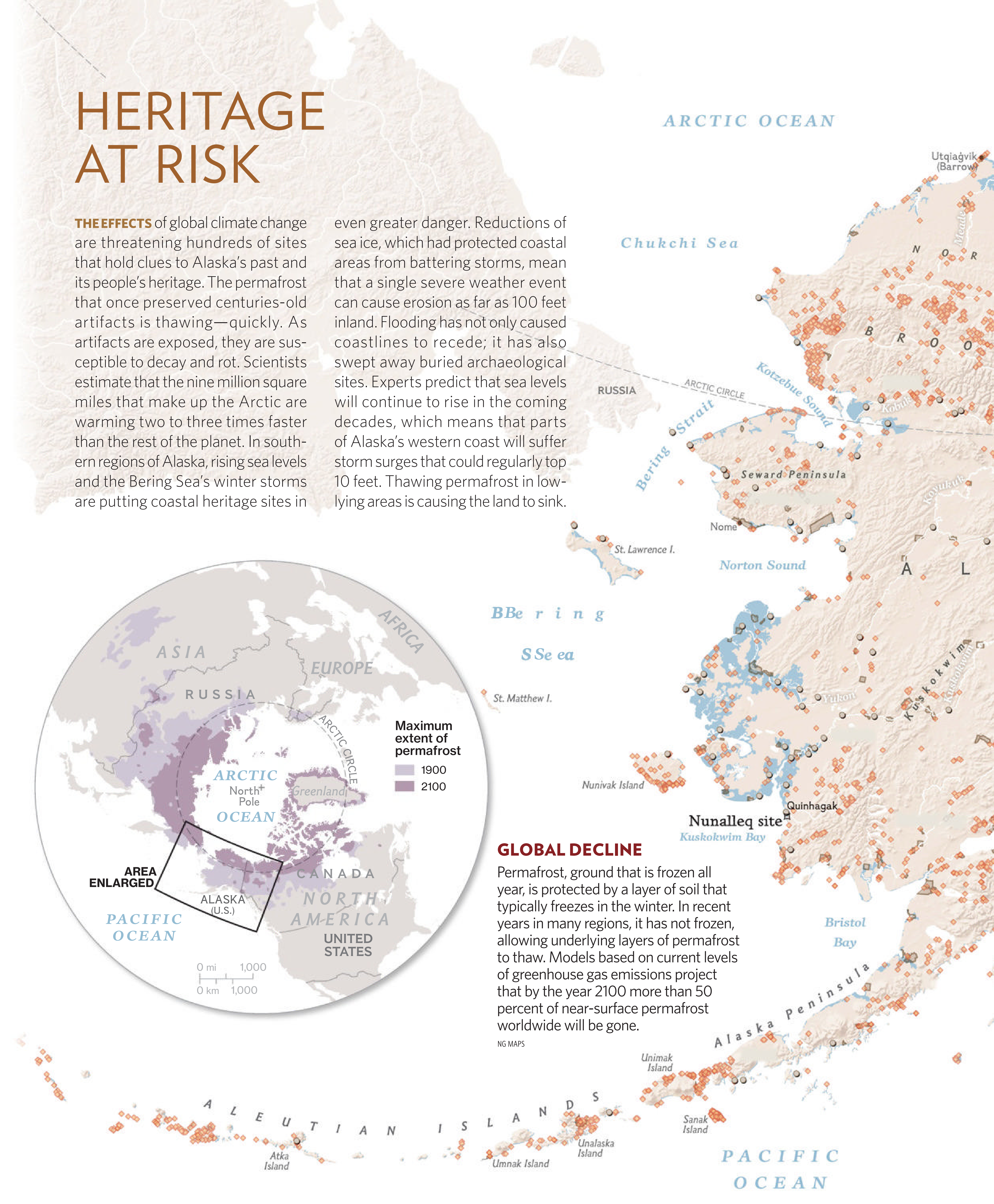


WASHING AWAY
Tribal elder Warren Jones stands where erosion is eating away at Yup'ik lands in southwest Alaska. Permafrost and sea ice once formed a protective barrier, but warming temperatures have wreaked havoc on local waterways.

MARK RALSTON/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

HERITAGE AT RISK

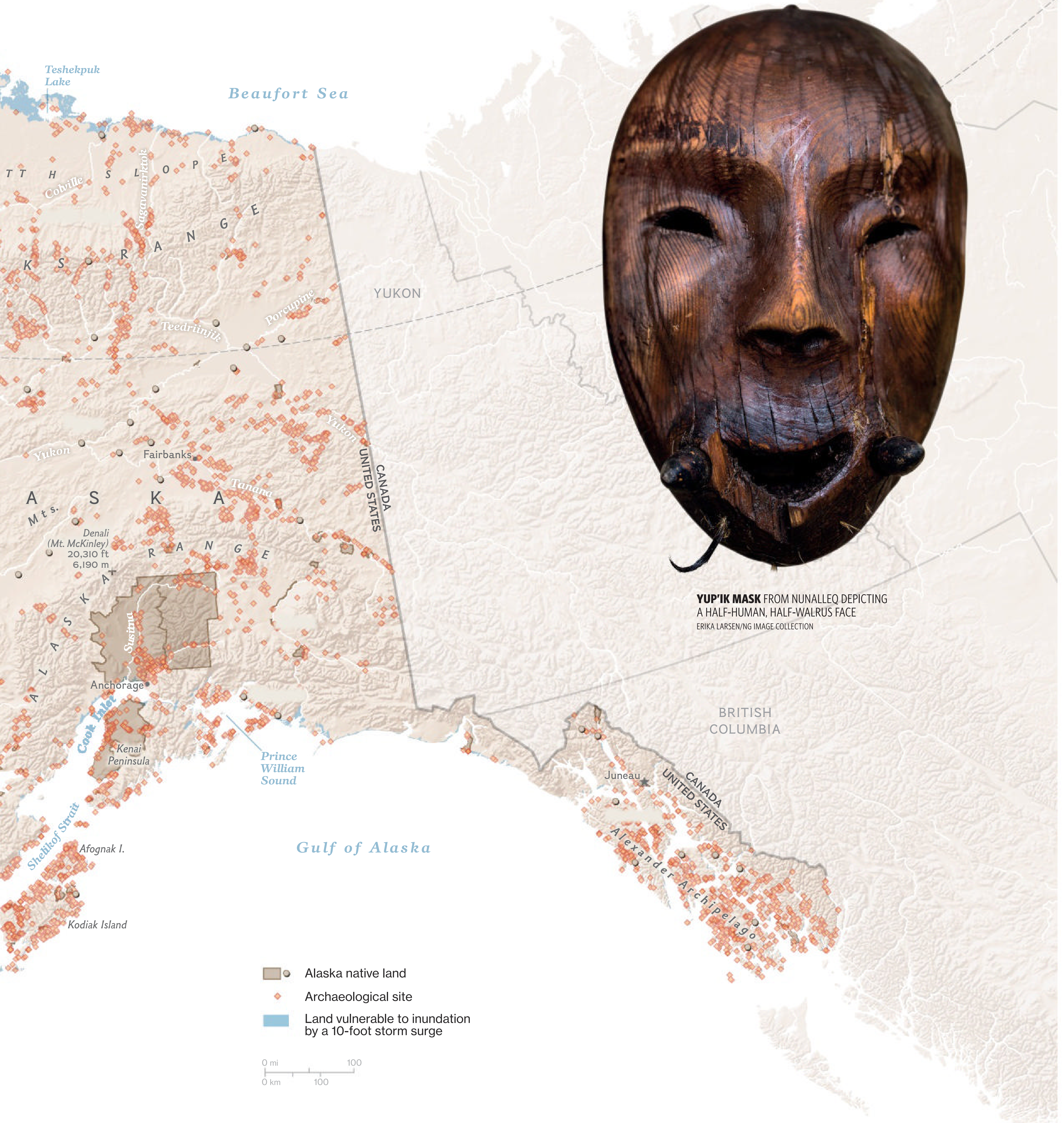
THE EFFECTS of global climate change are threatening hundreds of sites that hold clues to Alaska's past and its people's heritage. The permafrost that once preserved centuries-old artifacts is thawing—quickly. As artifacts are exposed, they are susceptible to decay and rot. Scientists estimate that the nine million square miles that make up the Arctic are warming two to three times faster than the rest of the planet. In southern regions of Alaska, rising sea levels and the Bering Sea's winter storms are putting coastal heritage sites in even greater danger. Reductions of sea ice, which had protected coastal areas from battering storms, mean that a single severe weather event can cause erosion as far as 100 feet inland. Flooding has not only caused coastlines to recede; it has also swept away buried archaeological sites. Experts predict that sea levels will continue to rise in the coming decades, which means that parts of Alaska's western coast will suffer storm surges that could regularly top 10 feet. Thawing permafrost in low-lying areas is causing the land to sink.


ARCTIC OCEAN
Utqiaġvik (Barrow)
Chukchi Sea
Meade
NORTH SLOPE
BROOKS
RUSSIA
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Kotzebue Sound
Kobuk
Bering Strait
Seward Peninsula
Koyukuk
Nome
St. Lawrence I.
Norton Sound
A L
Bering Sea
St. Matthew I.
Yukon
Kuskokwim
Kuskokwim
Nunivak Island
Quinhagak
Nunalleq site
Kuskokwim Bay
Bristol Bay
Alaska Peninsula
Unimak Island
Sanak Island
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS
Atka Island
Umnak Island
Unalaska Island
PACIFIC OCEAN
ASIA
RUSSIA
EUROPE
AFRICA
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ARCTIC OCEAN
North Pole
Greenland
CANADA
NORTH AMERICA
UNITED STATES
ALASKA (U.S.)
AREA ENLARGED
PACIFIC OCEAN
Maximum extent of permafrost
1900
2100
0 mi 1,000
0 km 1,000

GLOBAL DECLINE

Permafrost, ground that is frozen all year, is protected by a layer of soil that typically freezes in the winter. In recent years in many regions, it has not frozen, allowing underlying layers of permafrost to thaw. Models based on current levels of greenhouse gas emissions project that by the year 2100 more than 50 percent of near-surface permafrost worldwide will be gone.

NG MAPS


Teshekpuk Lake
Beaufort Sea
NORTH SLOPE
Colville
Sagavanirktok
BROOKS RANGE
Porcupine
Teedriinjik
YUKON
Yukon
Fairbanks
Tanana
CANADA
UNITED STATES
ALASKA RANGE
Mts.
Denali (Mt. McKinley) 20,310 ft 6,190 m
ALASKA
Susitna
Anchorage
Cook Inlet
Kenai Peninsula
Prince William Sound
Shelikof Strait
Afognak I.
Kodiak Island
Gulf of Alaska
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Juneau
CANADA
UNITED STATES
Alexander Archipelago
Alaska native land
Archaeological site
Land vulnerable to inundation by a 10-foot storm surge
0 mi 100
0 km 100

YUP'IK MASK FROM NUNALLEQ DEPICTING A HALF-HUMAN, HALF-WALRUS FACE

ERIKA LARSEN/NG IMAGE COLLECTION

NG MAPS

Giza's Untouched Royal Tomb

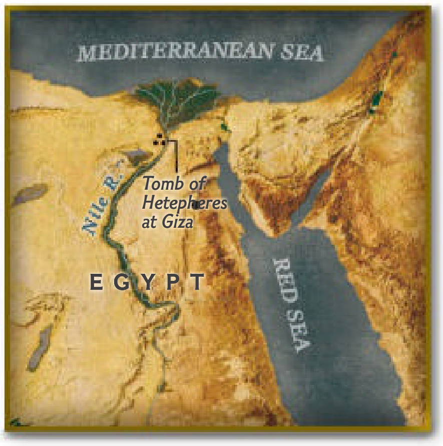
In 1925 a royal grave from one of Egypt's earliest dynasties was found—intact—in the shadow of the Great Pyramid of Khufu.

THE INTERIOR of Hetepheres's tomb in Giza, near Cairo, was packed with grave goods when it was first seen by George Reisner in January 1926. Water had damaged many of the objects, but several items were later painstakingly reconstructed.

MUSTAPHA ABU EL-HAMD/ MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

Howard Carter's sensational 1922 discovery of King Tutankhamun's treasure-filled tomb sparked a fascination with all things ancient Egyptian across Europe and the United States.

Hopes were high that more exciting discoveries were coming, not least among the archaeologists working in sites across Egypt. A spirit of intense rivalry marked relations among this group of largely Western scholars, who all jockeyed for the most promising sites while jealously monitoring their competitors' progress.



From the early 1900s, the Giza plateau, site of Egypt's three iconic pyramids, was being systematically excavated by an international group of scholars. A part of this vast terrain fell to the American archaeologist George Reisner. On February 2, 1925, Reisner's photographer, Mohammedani Ibrahim, was working near the Great Pyramid, erected by Pharaoh Khufu in the mid-third millennium B.C. Ibrahim looked down and noticed his tripod was resting on a white layer of plaster, possibly the top of a structure hidden below.

The boss had to be informed, but there was one problem: Reisner was, at that moment, not in Egypt, but in Boston, carrying out his duties as professor of Egyptology at Harvard University. His team started digging in his absence and found an irregularly cut, narrow shaft that went down 85 feet. It was filled with rubble. This sign was a strong indication that they had discovered a tomb—but since Giza had been extensively looted over thousands of years, the chances of an intact burial were very low.

On Saturday, March 7, as Reisner was preparing his Monday-morning lecture, thousands of miles away his team finally excavated the full shaft and were awestruck by what they found. T. R. D. Greenlees recorded the moment in his diary:

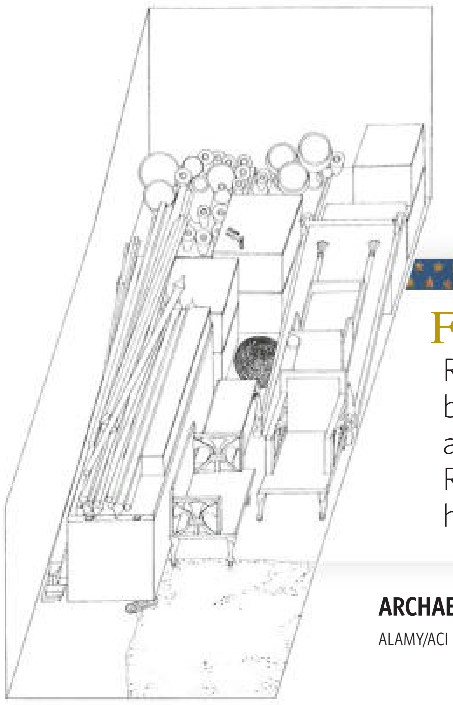
> *At 3:30 p.m. it was observed that the rock surface on the south . . . fell away at an angle, and immediately afterwards the top of the door to a chamber was revealed.*

February 1925
Reisner's team begins excavation of a tomb at Giza, but Reisner orders work halted in March.

January 1926
After nearly a year's delay, Reisner leads his team into the tomb. They begin to classify its fragile grave goods.

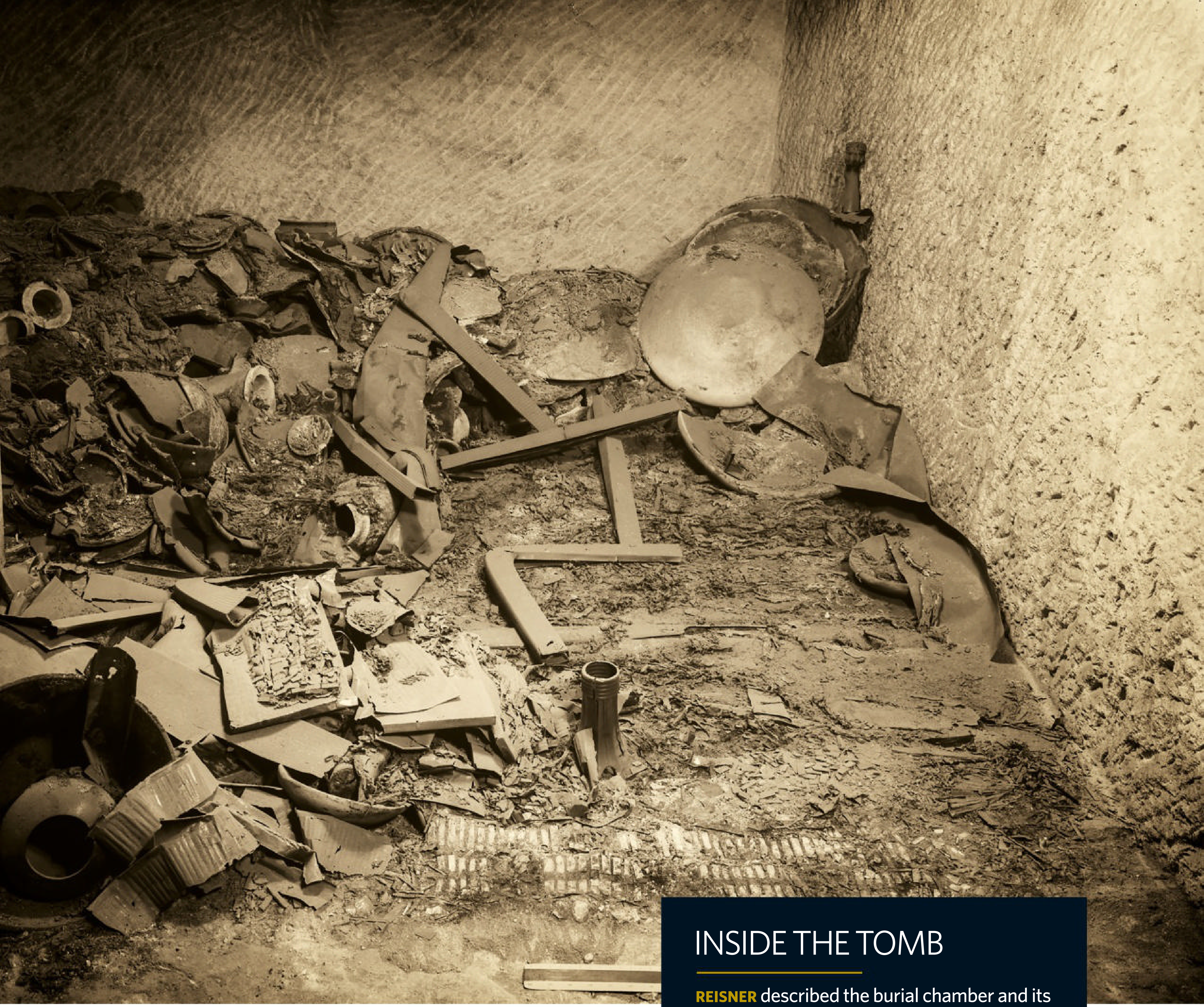
April 1926
Based on an inscription found in the tomb, its owner is revealed: Hetepheres, mother of Pharaoh Khufu.

March 1927
Reisner opens the tomb's sarcophagus and finds it empty. The fate of the queen remains a mystery.



ARCHAEOLOGIST'S SKETCH OF THE GRAVE GOODS IN HETEPHERES'S TOMB, 1926

ALAMY/ACI



One limestone block was loosened and removed in order to see in. A large chamber is visible extending up a little to east and west of the door. It is possible to see what appears to be a sarcophagus in the foreground upon which are several staves or maces with gilded tops. A good deal of gilding appears on other objects upon the ground. It is certain that the burial is intact.

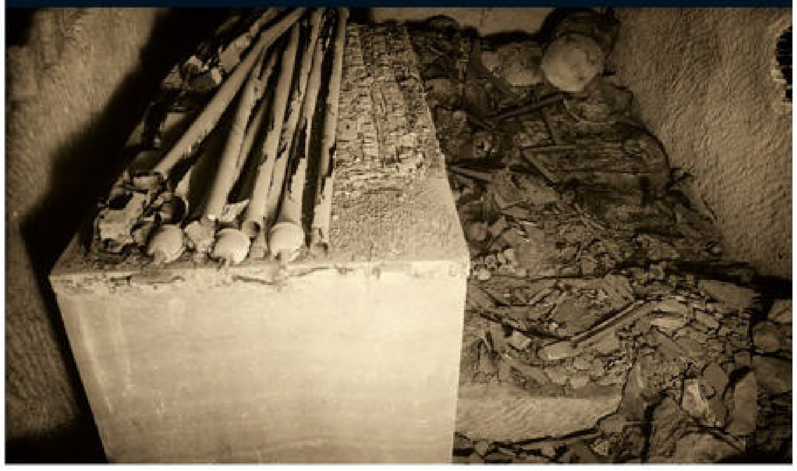
For the excavators, it was their moment of triumph, but later that week, Reisner sent a telegraph from Boston ordering that the work halt in Egypt. The tomb would be resealed.

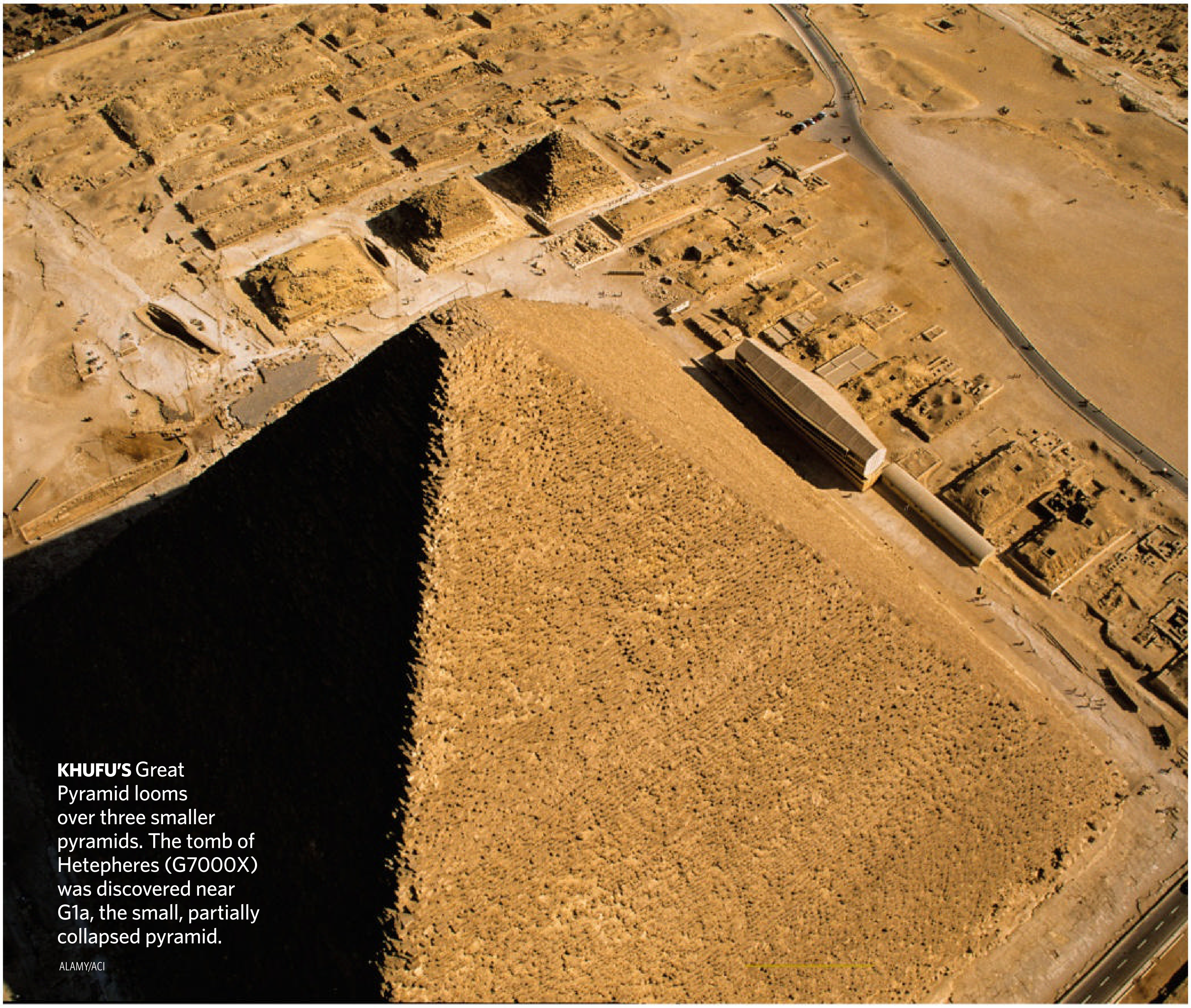
Ancient and Modern

Born in 1867 in Indianapolis, George Reisner commanded huge respect in Egyptology circles, having carried out a major archaeological survey of the Nubia region (today in southern

INSIDE THE TOMB

REISNER described the burial chamber and its contents (below) as follows: "Partly on the sarcophagus and partly fallen behind it lay about twenty gold-cased poles and beams of a large canopy. On the western edge of the sarcophagus were spread several sheets of gold inlaid with faience, and on the floor there was a confused mass of gold-cased furniture." ALAMY/ACI





KHUFU'S Great Pyramid looms over three smaller pyramids. The tomb of Hetepheres (G7000X) was discovered near G1a, the small, partially collapsed pyramid.

ALAMY/ACI

Egypt and Sudan). In 1902 French Egyptologist Gaston Maspero divided out the Giza plateau among the best excavators of the time, in a bid to prevent looting and deterioration. The central section of the huge site was awarded to Reisner.

Reisner was working in the new era of 20th-century technology: He could use the telegraph to send transatlantic communiques with his team. But he was modern in another way too: Carter's stunning find of Tutankhamun's tomb had made Reisner realize the power of public relations. His decision to reseal the intact tomb (officially labeled G7000X) was based on several factors, including his belief that he was the only person sufficiently competent to undertake the full excavation.

By delaying the dig until he could travel to Egypt, Reisner could also control the narrative. Media relations were a key part of that process. Leaks from Reisner's own team—who let a U.S. news photographer snap them—led to revelations in the London press of a major new find. Speculation swirled that the tomb was that of 4th-dynasty pharaoh Snefru. From Boston, Reisner countered by asserting his belief that it belonged to a royal woman.

Reisner's duties in the U.S. delayed the reopening of Tomb G7000X until January 1926. On finally entering the chamber containing the sarcophagus, Reisner discovered that the gold-cased furniture inside was

GOLD FALCON, TOMB OF HETEPHERES. EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, CAIRO

SCALA, FLORENCE

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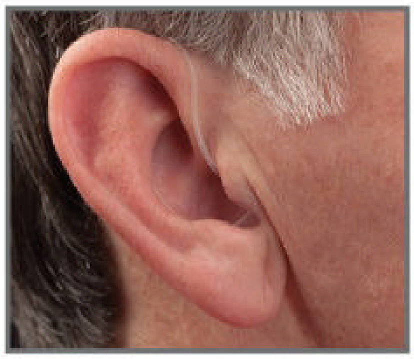

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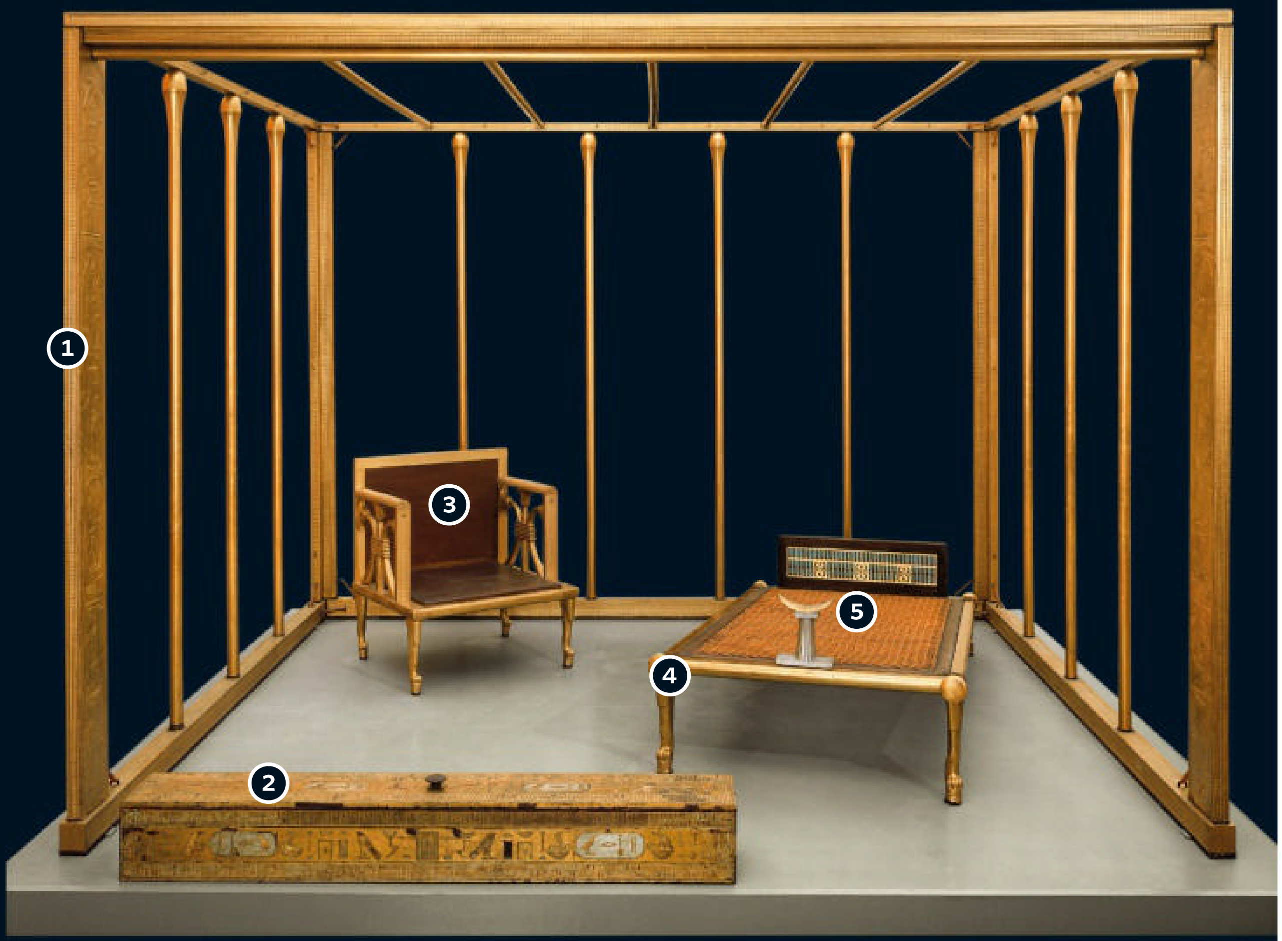
The Queen's Chamber

UPON OPENING the tomb of Hetepheres in January 1926, archaeologists were struck by the golden funerary furniture they found. Gilded chairs, a bed, and a canopy that could be disassembled had been severely damaged by water filtering into the tomb, but they were not beyond repair. Meticulous restoration allowed many of the pieces to be returned to their royal splendor.

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON/SCALA, FLORENCE



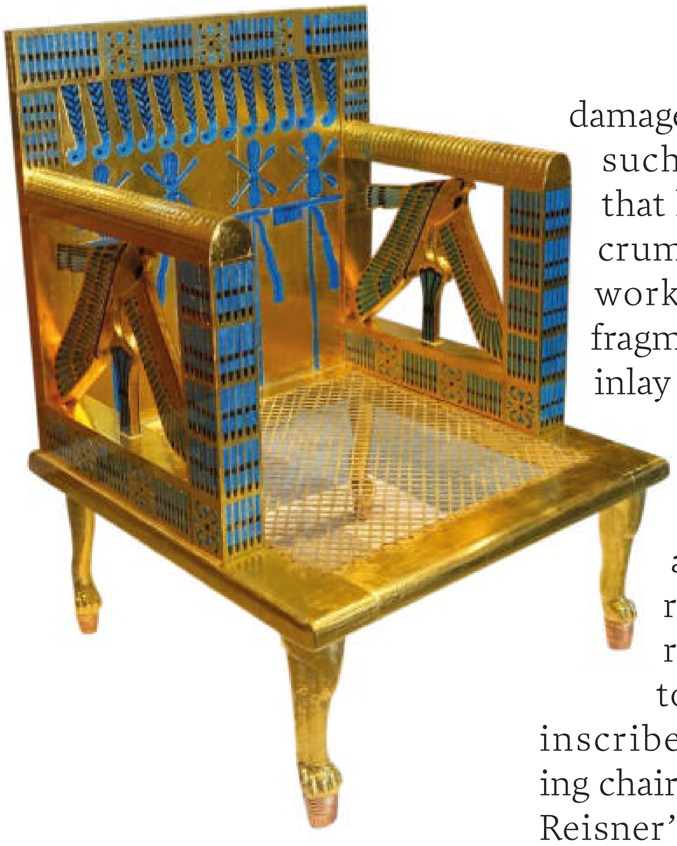
① The canopy consists of 25 different pieces and was found disassembled. The supports feature carved reliefs of the falcon-headed god Horus.

② One of several gold chests, this box may have contained the curtains that would once have covered the canopy.

③ This armchair is gilded with gold leaf. Papyrus flower motifs form the armrests, with feet in the form of lion claws.

④ The queen's gilded bed is masterfully carved. Each bedpost is shaped like a lion's leg complete with paws and claws.

⑤ A silver and gold headrest, commonly found in Old Kingdom burials, was inside a gold chest.



HETEPHERES'S CARRYING CHAIR, MADE OF GILDED WOOD WITH INLAID FAIENCE. DECORATIONS INCLUDE FALCONS PERCHED ON PAPYRUS COLUMNS. HARVARD MUSEUM OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST, CAMBRIDGE, MA

ALAMY/ACI

damaged by water and in such poor condition that he feared it would crumble. The delicate work to retrieve the fragments of wood and inlay was painstaking.

In addition to a canopy and bed, an armchair and an elaborate carrying chair were recovered. The tomb's owner was inscribed on the carrying chair, and it confirmed Reisner's notion that the tomb belonged to a woman: "Hetepet-heres," who was the mother of Khufu, the second king of the 4th dynasty and builder of the Great Pyramid. Her tomb had lain hidden in the shadow of that monument for over four millennia.

Missing Body

Hetepheres's alabaster sarcophagus was opened in March 1927, but it contained no human remains. Historians still debate what might have happened to them. Reisner suggested Hetepheres was originally buried near her husband, Snefru, at Dahshur; Khufu then created the new burial site at Giza, but the remains of his mother were never transferred there. Others propose she was buried in the small pyramid G1a, at the foot of the Great Pyramid.

Following the excavation, the armchair was restored and is now displayed at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. After Reisner's death in 1942, renewed interest in the retrieved fragments from Tomb G7000X spurred the mammoth task of reconstructing the elaborate carrying chair, in all its golden splendor. It is housed today at the Harvard Museum of the Ancient Near East in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—Irene Cordon

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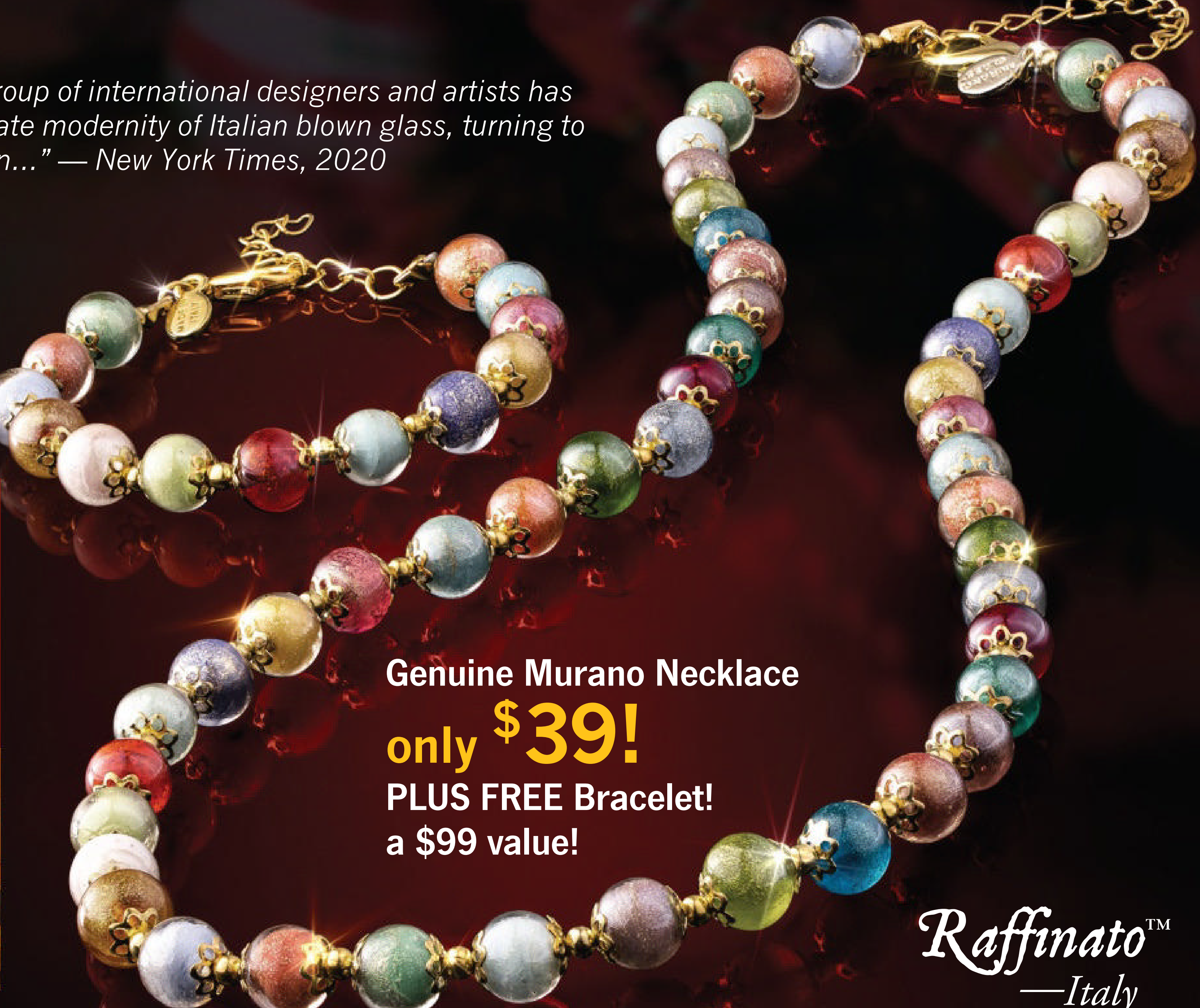

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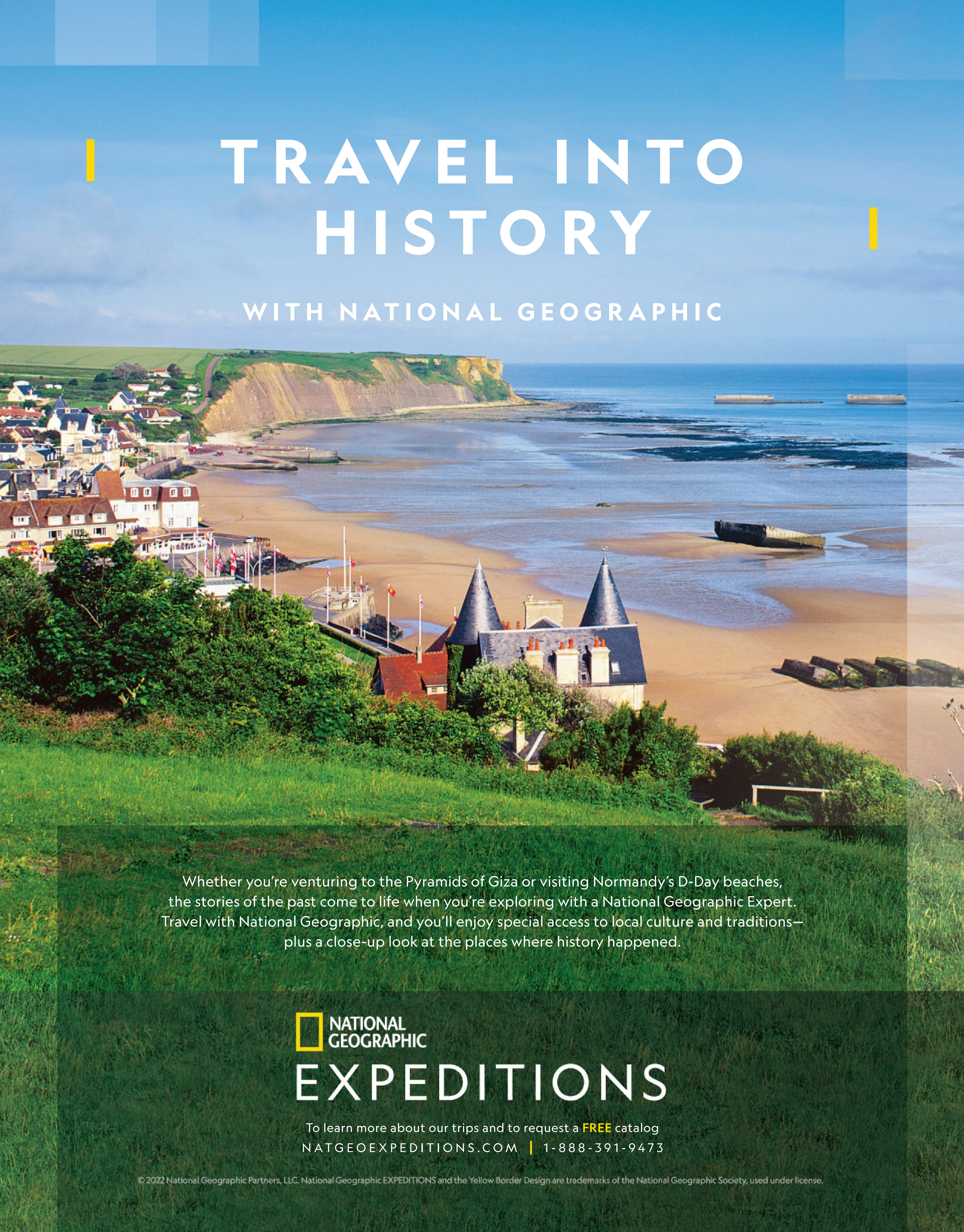

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